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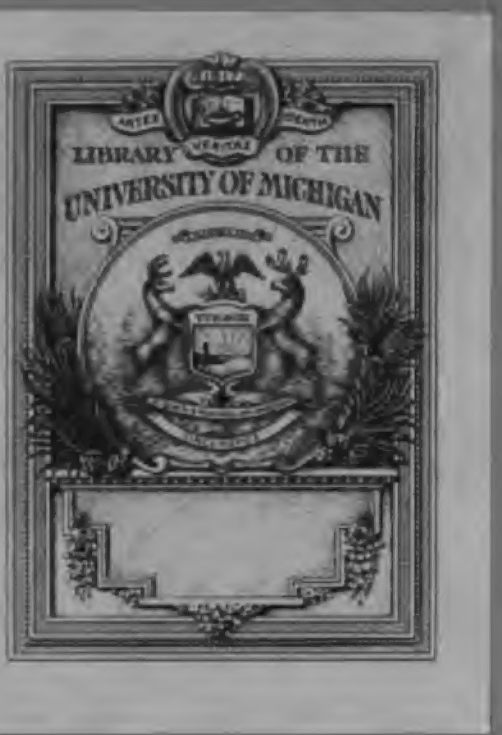
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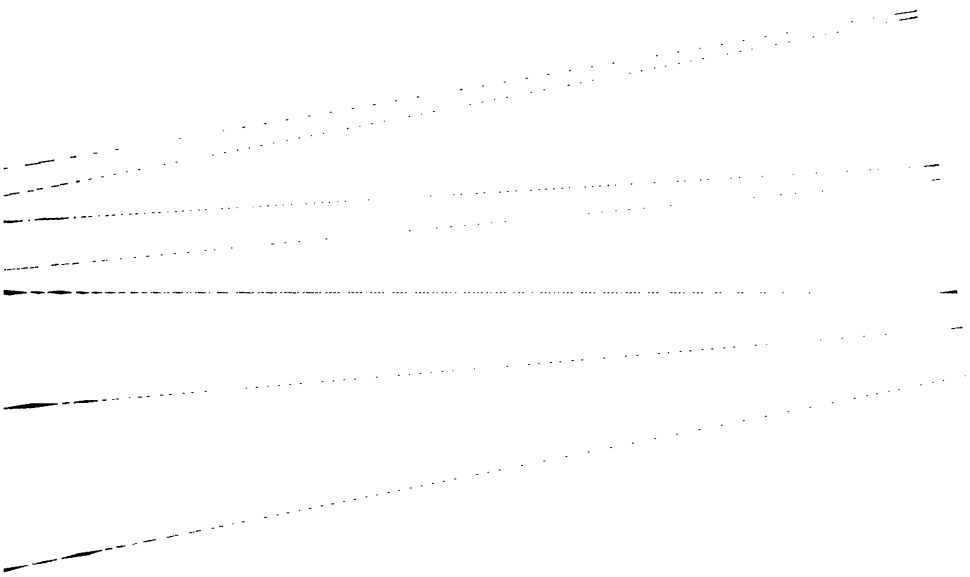

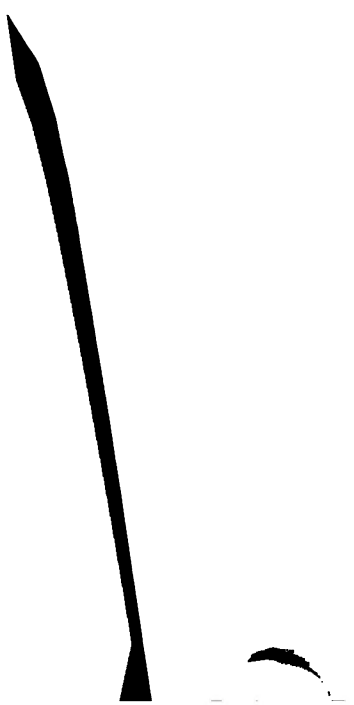

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PROCEEDINGS

For 1900.

345th Meeting.

TUESDAY evening, January 2, 1900.

President Crane in the chair.

Others present were: Messrs. Arnold, C. C. Baldwin, Dickinson, Davidson, J. L. Estey, Ely, Eaton, Gould, Harrington, M. A. Maynard, Geo. Maynard, H. G. Otis, Salisbury, Rev. Geo. W. Kent, Mrs. Chenoweth, Miss Cogswell, Miss Hay, Mrs. Sarah J. Maynard, Dr. Mary V. O'Callaghan, Mrs. T. A. O'Callaghan, Miss M. E. Reed, Miss M. Agnes Waite, Mrs. Franklin Wyman, and Miss May.

The Librarian reported additions to the library and collections for the past month: 25 bound volumes, 176 pamphlets, 108 papers, and 31 miscellaneous articles.

President then read his Inaugural Address.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Members of The Worcester Society of Antiquity :

In accepting the trust so generously conferred, and one which carries so much honor to the recipient, it calls to mind a similar event in the history of this Society. It occurred nineteen years ago in a little back room in Bank block on Foster street. The late Honorable Clark Jillson was then President. He had served most acceptably for two years. He brought life, courage, ability and character to the Society, in a measure far beyond the power of any of his associates. The members believed in him, revered him, and re-elected him, but to no purpose. He declined absolutely to accept, and the 1st Vice-President was elected to fill the vacancy. Albert Curtis was chosen 1st Vice-President; Albert Tolman, 2nd Vice-President; Samuel E. Staples, Secretary; James A. Smith, Treasurer; Albert Lovell, Librarian, and Edward R. Lawrence to serve on the Standing Committee. Of the seven officers elected at that annual meeting, *three* have passed beyond the dark river. Two have withdrawn from our ranks, while two remain, willing to continue their feeble efforts in the hope of assisting in the further upbuilding of this institution so dear to their hearts.

Of the twenty-seven members present at that meeting December 7, 1880, ten have died, four have left the city or withdrawn, while thirteen remain to give their generous support to the cause for which they enlisted. And what more fitting words can I offer at this moment than those uttered by Judge Jillson, which I copy from his last annual address before this Society, "Although entering upon duty at the beginning of another year, we are not called upon to take up any new burden or lay down the one we already bear. Our mission is not one that changes with the seasons. When we become weary with the labor it imposes and seek other employments, the places we

leave will be filled by zealous laborers from a new generation; but the corner-stone laid by our hands will continue to support the superstructure, though the sound of the builder's hammer may ring through its arches for centuries to come."

Nineteen years ago the entire effects of this Society were comfortably stored and cared for in a room 20 feet square, with shelf-room not to exceed two hundred and fifty feet, on which rested 1,325 bound volumes, 4,342 pamphlets, which, together with a few manuscripts, relics, coins and curiosities, completed the property of the Society, while its membership numbered less than sixty persons. In that little room with books and pictures on the walls, the meetings of the Society were held. To-day with a membership of nearly four hundred persons, a library building of spacious proportions, containing 1,500 lineal feet of shelf-room, covered with at least 15,000 bound volumes and 27,000 pamphlets, a beautiful auditorium, a museum replete with rare and costly relics to the number of 5,600 articles, The Worcester Society of Antiquity stands a fitting monument to the industry, courage and generosity of its members and their friends, an object-lesson worthy the imitation of any community on the face of the globe.

In the early history of the Society, woman was not recognized as eligible for membership. Well do I remember the first application that came. It was presented in the form of a letter beautifully worded, furnishing a strong argument in favor of admission, setting forth seemingly valid reasons why woman was as well fitted for, and interested in, the matter of historical work as the men, that she was the acknowledged help-mate of man, therefore there ought not to be a line drawn here. Nevertheless it was drawn and she was not admitted. But with that quality of persistency that always wins, and deserves to win, she has rightfully secured the prize and the Society

has been advanced a very broad step by her presence, and in recognition of the value of woman's work in the Society one of their number has been given a place on the board of direction.

It is to be expected with our large and rapidly-increasing membership we must of necessity have diversified interests to satisfy. There are questions of doubt and uncertainty clustering around many statements in history that need verification and vindication which are fully as important to the seeker for the truth as that about the use of the matchlock gun or the location of Wheeler's Surprise in 1675, so that our work need not wholly be confined to new and uncultivated fields. Members are earnestly requested to prepare papers to be read before the Society, selecting such subjects as shall meet their approval. The preparation of such papers will prove of lasting benefit to the writer and of great interest to the Society.

The departments of work enumerated in our constitution would seem to allow ample scope for study and research, but should any number of members desire it, classes may be instituted to carry on special work. Still it perhaps would be best to strive within the lines of our constitution and certainly best to keep our expenses inside our annual income.

It is not always pleasant to be assigned to a department of work in which one feels no real interest or in which one can gather no inspiration. That discomfort, however, can be averted by a little co-operation on the part of the members. Do not forget the old and familiar adage, "What is worth doing, is worth doing well," and in order to assist in obtaining the best results from our work members should, as opportunity is given, express in some form their preference for the line of work they most desire, and thus enable the President, in his annual round of duty, to make comparatively satisfactory assignments.

Owing to the very brief time between the election of the present board of officers and their induction into office, I must ask for a little more time in which to consider appointments for the various committees.

While I thank the members of this Society for the consideration and respect granted me, I wish to express my appreciation of the earnest work and arduous labor performed during the past three years by Mr. F. L. Hutchins, our retiring President, who, on account of new and pressing demands upon his time, has felt obliged to decline a re-election.

In the absence of Mr. Dodge, chairman of Committee on Membership Biography and Resolutions, the President read the following memorial to the late Rev. Samuel May:

SAMUEL MAY.

Rev. Samuel May, the most conspicuous of the few survivors of the New England Abolitionists, died at his home in Leicester, Mass., on the 24th of November last, in his 90th year.

Mr. May was born in Boston April 11th, 1810. His father, Samuel May, was a Boston merchant noted for probity and public spirit. His mother, Mary (Goddard) May, lived to be a year older than her husband, at the time of his death, dying in 1882, in her 95th year.

He was the oldest of six children, of whom two brothers, John J. May and Frederic W. G. May, of Dorchester, and a sister, Mrs. W. L. P. Boardman, of Milton, survive him.

Mr. May's earlier education was acquired at the school of Deacon Samuel Greele in Boston and at the Boston Latin School, with a concluding year at the "Round Hill School," in Northampton, of which the historian, George

Bancroft, was the head master. He entered Harvard College in 1825, and was graduated in the famous class of 1829, of which Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes was one of the eighty-one members. Others were: James Freeman Clark, William Henry Channing, Benjamin R. Curtis, Samuel F. Smith (author of "America"), and George T. Bigelow, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. Mr. May became class secretary in 1829, and kept the records of the class to the time of his last sickness, a period of about seventy years. The book, written in his clear and beautiful handwriting, will be delivered to Harvard University. Only two members of the class survive Mr. May.

After leaving Cambridge Mr. May spent a year in Brooklyn, Conn., where his cousin, Samuel J. May, was preaching to the sole Unitarian society in the state. It was his intention to study theology with his cousin. But he did more than that—he became thoroughly imbued with his tutor's public spirit and interest in the questions of the day, especially that of slavery. He returned to Cambridge in 1830 and remained there three years, taking a full course of study in the Divinity School, of which he became the senior alumnus in 1898.

In September, 1833, Mr. May preached in Leicester to a new Unitarian society which had been incorporated early in that year. Services were held at first in the old Town Hall, but on August 12th, 1834, a church was dedicated. He was permanently engaged to preach in June of that year, and was ordained and installed on the following August 13th.

On November 11th, 1835, Mr. May married Miss Sarah Russell, daughter of Nathaniel P. Russell, of Boston, in whom he found an efficient co-worker in the great cause which subsequently engrossed him. They took up their residence in the spacious house which Mr. May's father had built for them on Leicester Hill, a rare site, a thou-

sand feet above the sea, and commanding a beautiful and extensive prospect of the surrounding country. Here they passed the remainder of their long and useful lives, exercising a generous hospitality and identifying themselves thoroughly with the interests of the town. Four children were born to them, Adeline, Edward, Joseph Russell and Elizabeth Goddard, all of whom, with four grandchildren, survive.

It was not till some years after his marriage that Mr. May took an active part in the anti-slavery agitation, but from the beginning of his ministry no Sunday passed without his prayer "for those who are in bonds as bound with them," and on Fast and Thanksgiving days he availed himself of the privilege, then generally allowed in the churches of New England, of addressing himself squarely to public questions, and especially to the nation's duty in regard to slavery. An anti-slavery society was formed in Leicester in 1840, and Mr. May became its leading spirit. There were also two Worcester county anti-slavery societies, of the south division of which he was Secretary or President for many years. In 1843 he visited England to recruit his health, and received a warm welcome from the Abolitionists, with whom he afterwards conducted a close correspondence for many years.

Mr. May resigned his pastorate in August, 1846, at the conclusion of his twelfth year. During the following year he preached in Brooklyn, Conn., his cousin having gone to Syracuse, N. Y.

His services to the town of Leicester were many and great. Estranged from his parishioners and townsmen for many years on account of his anti-slavery and other reformatory convictions, he reconquered their esteem and became their first and most honored citizen. He served on the School Board, and on the Board of Trustees of Leicester Academy. For thirty years he was the chief buyer for the Public Library. In 1875 he represented the town

in the Legislature, serving as chairman of the House committee on Federal Relations.

His fellow-townsmen repeatedly testified their respect and affection for him, notably on his 70th and 85th birthdays, and on the latter occasion they presented him with an album containing letters of congratulation from many of his old friends and co-workers on both sides of the Atlantic. He had the dignity of bearing and courtesy of a gentleman of the old school, and a consideration and fairness towards those from whom he differed, which disarmed many an opponent. His name is indissolubly linked with the great historic movement in which it was his privilege to be a leading actor, and with the beautiful town which he made his home, and in which he passed so much of his long, useful and active life.

Mr. May became a member of this Society March 20th, 1883.

BENJAMIN J. DODGE,
A. B. R. SPRAGUE,
E. E. THOMPSON,
of Committee on Membership Biography.

WORCESTER, Mass., December 28, 1899.

Mrs. C. Van D. Chenoweth was then introduced and read the following paper, entitled "An Undistinguished Citizen:"

AN UNDISTINGUISHED CITIZEN.

MRS. C. VAN D. CHENOWETH, A. M., BEFORE THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.

American Literature and American Families are conspicuously poor in authentic family histories.

There are good chronological and genealogical tables, and abundance of tenderly cherished family tradition, the

latter, however, growing more and more untrustworthy through frequent telling, and for want of supporting testimony.

There are also most excellent biographies of our really great men, rewritten from time to time as new facts which bear upon their career have come to light. But the lives which these great men overshadowed, those to whose fidelity and courage they owe their prominence, and we our life as a Nation, have been strangely neglected.

The material for biographies of these sound and stalwart men of merely local distinction which simply floods our records, is of undying interest to thousands of American families, and is becoming with each successive generation more difficult to collect, verify and edit. I beg to invite your attention this evening to a brief outline of such a life, the public services of which are traceable only by fragments, widely scattered through the Colonial official documents of four States.

The absolute precision with which these sparkling fragments fit together, giving the pattern of a finely-rounded and easily-recognizable character, fills me with hope that much work along this barren line may eventually be accomplished. It would richly supplement our knowledge in many directions, especially in the study of heredity; and would be of inestimable value to students of certain phases of American history in generations to come. This slight experiment to ascertain what may be done without the usual preliminary aids to work of this character, was undertaken quite unexpectedly ; the fruit of a certain pious impulse. I have consulted some three hundred books in the course of this desultory study, more than thirty of which have yielded valuable clues or direct information, and have discovered for myself available material, bearing directly upon my subject, sufficient to fill a stout volume.

It is perhaps proper to state that I had long since held it to be my duty to look up the record of Colonel John

Hazeltine, whom I had some reason to believe did his best and uttermost in the struggle for Independence. And if I felt a certain temperamental reluctance in beginning the work, fearing that I should be confronted by that only which was narrow, chilly and utterly uncomfortable, I am glad to humbly acknowledge my error.

The essential knowledge which I possessed concerning the John Hazeltine I wished to find, was so slight that my movements at the outset were literally a groping in the dark. I knew that he had a son born in Sutton, Worcester County, Massachusetts, who married the eldest daughter of the first physician settled in that town; and from this son and his wife I could reckon accurately in one line down to the present. Beyond them there was only the dim and spectral figure of a Colonel John Hazeltine who had at some period of his life resided in Sutton, to aid my undertaking. The simple, straightforward story which at length lay spread out before me, seems entertaining enough to tell; not merely as a little study of the past, but also because it shows that a man born nearly two hundred years ago, and quite without distinction, still left traces enough of his own vigorous personality in the world to enable a descendant, at this late day, to follow the course of his restless and productive life, substantially from the cradle to the grave.

The one son of whom I knew, Silas Hazeltine, who married Judith, daughter of Dr. Benjamin and Abigail (Dudley) Morse, proved to be but one of a family of nine children, all of whom reached years of maturity; and Colonel Hazeltine's confidence in the integrity of his four stalwart sons and his fatherly pride in their successes as they developed into manhood, are manifested at many points, as is also the fact that wherever his imperious and relentless energy drove him, it was absolutely essential to his peace and comfort that one or more of his boys should accompany him.

In speculating upon their names, I find that of Paul, his eldest son, to have been a favorite family name. Asa and Silas I cannot account for; but Peter was called, doubtless, for the old Colonel's maternal grandfather, Peter Cooper.

The five daughters were named respectively:

Abigail, presumably for John Hazeltine's mother—and became Mrs. Joshua Barnard.

Rachel, wife of Dr. Joshua Wood.

Jenny, who was called for her mother, Jane, and became Mrs. Jonas Butterfield.

Elizabeth, a well-beloved family name, wife of Capt. Josiah Fish; and

Mehitable, doubtless so called for her father's only sister. Mehitable became the wife of General Samuel Fletcher of Vermont.

All sound biographical work, other than that upon contemporary lives, should properly begin, as is well known, with the original sources of our history, illustrated and vivified by such bits of information gathered elsewhere as will coincide perfectly with the facts previously gleaned from public documents. Town Records, the Registry of Deeds, the Probate Court Records, and the Archives of the State, and of the Nation, furnish the material of chief value relating to a man's birth and death, his property, and the disposition of it, and his public acts. Of secondary value are personal official documents of all kinds, Military and Civil, Church Records, diaries, and familiar correspondence, authentic portraits, contemporary newspapers, town histories, genealogies, and other books of like purport compiled by accurate and judicious persons. But Town Histories, as such, are poor aids to any general biographical research, however valuable as compendiums for ready reference. Those families whose living representatives in a town have remained and prospered, receive a relatively undue importance in their connection

with the town's early history; while the men who were, by nature or necessity, pioneers, and who, with their children, moved on from one outpost to another in the march of civilization through this vast country, receive but little notice; or none at all. And so it proved, with a single exception in the case under consideration. For I was dealing with a family that early grew restless and self-assertive under the untrammeled conditions of life in the new world. A strong-limbed, warm-hearted race, highly intelligent under pressure, but not greatly given to books—men who rejoiced in new enterprises, smiled at all obstacles, and who both accumulated and disposed of their property with astonishing ease. They seemed to find full recompense in the utter joy of doing, the credit for which might go to him who claimed it; and it is matter for surprise that fifteen towns of the United States should bear their name.

In the year 1638 the Rev. Ezekiel Rogers left his parish of Rowley, in Yorkshire, England, and, accompanied by some twenty families of his parishioners, took passage for the new world in the good ship "John" of London. It is a fact worthy of mention that in the same vessel with them came also the first printing-press brought to America. History describes this little company of emigrants from Rowley as "men of good estate." At all events they paid the Massachusetts Colony liberally for their grant, and soon planted homes for themselves, calling their town Rowley in affectionate remembrance.

Two brothers, Robert and John Hazeltine, were of their number, declared free men in 1640. John was a youth of not more than nineteen years of age when he left England. In 1675, while they were still men in the prime of life, they, in connection with William Wilde, founded the town earliest known as Merrimack. Later they changed the name to Bradford, and again, no doubt, in token of affectionate remembrance, Bradford being a

town of the West Riding of the County of York, England, and of more importance than Rowley, which is in the East Riding, seven miles from Beverley. I have made no effort to trace the forbears of Robert and John Hazeltine across the water. Hazelden Manor, Sussex, is said to be the seat of this family, and their heraldic insignia may be found in various books devoted to the subject. To my mind these young emigrant brothers represent a self-respecting rural class, members of the Established Church, lovers of lands and herds, and with singularly clear-headed ideas in many directions. Some proportion of good blood in their veins is indeed suggested by their peculiar facility in turning from one thing to another as occasion required, and also by their stern hatred of all small limitations. And again, while they would contest their right in the last foot of land or stick of timber which they possessed, their open-handed generosity is everywhere conspicuous in a day when people had but little to be generous with.

John Hazeltine, the younger of the two brothers, first of their name in New England, was the great-grandfather of Colonel John Hazeltine, the subject of this brief sketch. John[4] Hazeltine (John[3], Samuel[2], John[1]), the eldest son of John and Abigail (Ross) Hazeltine, was born in Bradford, Mass., in 1702. His father died when he was but thirteen years of age, leaving a small estate, sufficient for the humble needs of his wife and four children in the simple New England village. John married in early manhood Jane Wood, and removed to Sutton, Massachusetts, where he was a dealer in lands from June 15, 1726, to Dec. 29, 1768. I have not examined the records of Suffolk County, but the early records of Worcester County show numerous small transactions in his name, in which his quality is given as that of husbandman. One of date August 10, 1732, runs thus:

"*Dudley to Hazeltine.* To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that I, Samuel

Dudley of Sutton, and County of Suffolk, and in His Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, gentleman, for and in consideration of the sum of five pounds, current money, to me paid in hand before ye ensealing hereof, well and truly paid by John Hazeltine, of town and county aforesaid, husbandman, etc. * * *"

The above conveyance covers one-half right in a certain plot known as "Prat's Meadow," and is of interest to me from the fact that the grand-children of the parties to this transaction intermarried in the course of time. Two years later, 1734, John Hazeltine sold his ownership in a mill to Samuel Wood, who may have been a family connection. And now fortune favored his efforts in respect to his worldly condition, and from the year 1738 he is described in the County Records as John Hazeltine, Gentleman, and the sums of money involved are of increasing importance. Subsequently, he is occasionally called by his military title, but more commonly Esquire in all business transactions, following his appointment as Justice of the Peace. No doubt, since the etiquette of that day concerning a man's position was no haphazard matter. But the earliest record found thus far in which he had used his authority to administer an oath, is in the year 1761 at a Proprietors' meeting.

The town of Upton, Massachusetts, which was granted to John Hazeltine and others, was incorporated June 14, 1735. In three days after passing the Act of Incorporation, it was ordered that Mr. John Hazeltine, one of the principal inhabitants of said town in County of Worcester, "be, and hereby is, fully authorized and empowered to assemble the freeholders and other qualified voters as soon as may be, in some convenient place to make choice of town officers, to stand until the anniversary meeting in March next." * * "John Hazeltine, Esq., was elected Moderator at this meeting," held July 28, 1735. When Upton was thus set off from Mendon, Hopkinton, Ux-

bridge and Sutton, it embraced that part of Sutton in which Colonel Hazeltine's homestead lay, and he henceforth appears active in the affairs of the town he helped to found, as Moderator and Selectman, until he withdrew his residence in 1768 or 9.

Upton was incorporated during the administration of Governor Belcher, and the origin of the name is said to be unknown. There was a family in Ireland of the name at this period of whom Clotworthy Upton, of Upton Castle, had a daughter, the Baroness Langford, and a nephew, Clotworthy Upton, who was created Baron Templeton, Peerage of Ireland. It seems to me within the bounds of probability that the origin of the name of this town might be found.

Deacon Leland says that Colonel Hazeltine in 1744 was an active partner in a certain iron refinery planted in Sutton. Among those associated with him were Samuel Chase, grandfather of Bishop Chase, of the Episcopal Church, and Francis Dudley, Esq., later connected with Colonel Hazeltine by the marriage of their descendants. A typographical error in the foregoing statement which gave the name of Jonathan instead of John, long caused me great perplexity.

The Colonial Military records of Massachusetts make mention of Colonel Hazeltine in connection with the expedition against Crown Point, in which he engaged. His earlier rank was that of Major, and two of his sons, Silas and Asa, went out with his command, having been mustered into the service Sept. 1, 1755.

In another volume of the (Mass.) State Archives appears the following entry:

"John Hazeltine, Lieut.-Colonel, returned two guns to Commissary Moses Emerson, and took his receipt. Sworn to by Colonel Hazeltine, Boston, March 9, 1756, before me, Samuel Watts, Justice of the Peace. Errors excepted. John Hazeltine."

Also in the same volume is a receipt from Colonel Hazeltine for £15 12s. 2d. for cash paid for mending guns, transporting stores, care of the sick, etc., of date March 9, 1756. The autograph signatures of these receipts were matter of much interest. In the one that is unmarred, the chirography is firm and handsome ; the work of one fully accustomed to the uses of the pen.

While the frequently-interrupted work of tracing the life of Colonel Hazeltine was still moving satisfactorily in the main, the thread of the narrative was suddenly broken. I did not know what had become of my hero; so prominent in the struggling little inland towns of Sutton and Upton; as well as so good at need elsewhere when martial valor was demanded. He had not been killed by hardship, nor in battle, for his name appeared as Moderator of Town Meeting years after peace was declared. But where was he ? The records of the Probate Court of Worcester County gave, indeed, certain information relative to a John Hazeltine who died in 1777, intestate and insolvent, which I promptly rejected without further investigation. It was not easy to acknowledge myself hopelessly defeated in the way of any legitimate end to my little sketch, for I was bidding adieu to a living man, still active in the affairs of the world, and in all ways a useful citizen. However, since there was no apparent help for it, I gathered my bits of manuscript together and called it finished.

Many months elapsed in which the recollection of Colonel John Hazeltine and my mortifying failure seldom occurred to me; when most unexpectedly I ran across him in a Vermont historical paper. He looked enchantingly natural across the century,—alert, energetic, engrossed in affairs as usual. "My dear Sir, I am most happy to see you! Was it to Vermont, then, that you went?" was the involuntary exclamation, with an impulse to stretch forth my hand in greeting. A subsequent ex-

amination of published State documents of New Hampshire, Vermont and New York, and sundry other historical works, not the least suggestive of which was Rowland E. Robinson's History of Vermont, of the American Commonwealth series, afforded all needed light upon a subject which had awakened my profound interest.

It appears that Townshend, then of the Province of New Hampshire, was chartered by the Colonial Governor and Council of New Hampshire, Benning Wentworth, Governor, to John Hazeltine, Esq., and sixty-eight others, June 30, 1753. The names of several members of Colonel Hazeltine's own family appear in the list of grantees, as well as that of his minister, the Rev. David Hall, of Sutton, whose presence at the Proprietors' meetings held later, is casually noticed.

Townshend, doubtless so called in honor of the elder Charles Townshend, of the British Ministry, and brother-in-law of Sir Robert Walpole, was the seventh town of the New Hampshire grants to be chartered on the east side of the Green Mountains. It lies near the centre of what is now Windham County, Vermont, some ninety miles from Montpelier, and within the hotly-contested territory popularly known as the "Hampshire Grants;" Townshend having been variously within the jurisdiction of New Hampshire, New York and Vermont.

Colonel Hazeltine also appears as one of the grantees named in the charters of other towns of the New Hampshire Grants, among which are Newburg, Hubbardton and New Fane.

The Proprietors' Record shows the first meeting of the Proprietors of Townshend to have been held July 24, 1753, called by Colonel Hazeltine, under the authority of His Excellency, Benning Wentworth. There was a second meeting held March 12, 1754, but the excitement attendant upon the French and Indian war, effectually diverted

John Hazeltine's attention from the business appertaining to new townships, and he threw himself with characteristic ardor into active military service, accompanied, as has been stated, by two of his sons. The consequent delay in settling the new town endangered the rights of the grantees, but a petition for an extension of time had, as its result, a renewal of the Charter in 1762.

The records of the meetings of the Proprietors of Townshend are highly interesting. They suggest rather a close corporation, consisting of Colonel Hazeltine, his sons and sons-in-law, and personal friends.

Judge Phelps says: "Colonel Hazeltine owned nearly one-fourth of the town. This required a large expenditure of time in procuring settlers to improve, and possibly buy, some of his unoccupied acres." From 1761 to 1768 he went to Townshend each spring to superintend his interests in that locality, aided by one or more of his sons, returning upon the approach of winter to the more salubrious climate of Worcester County, and the superior attractions of Upton, Worcester, and perhaps Boston;—thus evincing a rough care for his health becoming a man no longer young. Town meeting, at all events found him in Upton, and frequently in the capacity of Moderator. He managed also at times to serve as Selectman, even while his attention was so largely bestowed elsewhere. Public-spirited to an astonishing degree, he seems under all circumstances to have had leisure for whatever appertained to the public good.

There is inexpressible charm in the suavity with which he meets vexed questions, and one can hardly forbear to smile when upon the sober pages of pioneer history one reads expressions such as these: "With a low bow Colonel Hazeltine said," etc., etc., or, "With a bland good-bye the Colonel put spurs to his horse," etc. The air of Upton must have been singularly conducive to Chesterfieldian grace of manner, and the urbane Colonel

was surely an acceptable element in the groups which included the fiery and intrepid Ethan Allen, and other Green Mountain men, as daring perhaps, though less distinguished.

When, in 1764, King George III somewhat hastily reaffirmed the western bank of the Connecticut river to be the boundary line between His Most Gracious Majesty's provinces of New Hampshire and New York, the people of Townshend were subjected to temporary astonishment at thus finding themselves residents of the colony of New York. Lieut.-Governor Cadwalader Colden of New York made proclamation on April 10, 1765, of the order in council which affected the change, and in somewhat qualified submission to the royal authority, the Governor of New Hampshire counseled the people living upon "the Grants" to yield peaceably to their present obligations as residents of the Colony of New York. A meeting of the Proprietors of Townshend was called for Aug. 25, 1766, and duly held. It is not altogether clear whether anyone beside Colonel Hazeltine was present. I quote from the Proprietors' Records: "Meeting of Proprietors Aug. 25, 1766. Notice is hereby given to the Proprietors of Townshend, lying on West River so called, on the west side of the Connecticut River, to meet at the house of Mr. Jonathan Haile in Sutton, innholder, on the 25th day of this instant August, at 10 o'clock of said day, in the morning; then and there to act on the following articles: 1st, To choose a Moderator; 2d, To see if said Proprietors will choose any person or persons to go to New York about said Townshend, in answer to what the Governor of New York has put into the public prints, relating to towns on the west side of Connecticut River; 3rd, To see if said proprietors, when met, will act on any other matters and things as may appear to them to be for the advantage of said proprietors : and act accordingly. The foregoing done at the desire of more than thirty of the

above said proprietors, per me, John Hazeltine, Upton, August 11, 1766.

"Agreeably to the above notification, the proprietors of said Townshend met at the time and place mentioned. 1st, Made choice of John Hazeltine, Esq., Moderator of said meeting; 2d, Voted that John Hazeltine, Esq., go to New York to represent the proprietors of Townshend, in answer to the second article of the notification." Attest, John Hazeltine, Moderator."

The foregoing conveys to me the impression that Colonel Hazeltine held proxies for all of the proprietors, and the proprietors' proceedings for a period of twenty-one years show a wonderful spirit of harmony and unanimity. During these years Colonel Hazeltine was always chosen Moderator as a matter of course, and in his dignified position as Autocrat appears to have encountered no opposition, and to have sought neither aid nor counsel in his conduct of affairs, trusting implicitly to his own remarkably sound and well-balanced judgment. His four sons and five sons-in-law, all men of good standing, yielded him unswerving confidence, as he seems to move them from place to place like chess men upon the board. While evincing a normal care for his own worldly interests, his sense of responsibility for the prosperity of the settlers in Townshend was wonderful, and he labored with untiring zeal to secure it.

He had less than the customary allotment of reverses and bereavement. True, he lost his father while still a child, and his mother at some later period, but there is apparently a stretch of fifty years in which neither family affliction nor material disappointment assailed him. He was fond of his horse, and spent much time in the saddle. He adored his children, who, whether old or young, were the subjects of his ceaseless care, and he was a patriot of the devoted type that is not afraid to fight.

It is recorded of him that during the War for Independ-

ence, he personally provided the bounties for needy soldiers who went into the field; and the Association Agreement was signed by every man in Townshend at the time, headed by Colonel Hazeltine, who carefully added the names of those who were out of town, with the information that they are in the service at Roxbury under General Washington.

In order to have attained conspicuous success in life, Colonel Hazeltine needed not so much a larger proportion of qualities already possessed as an admixture of others in which he was deficient. He appears to have been absolutely without personal ambition, and in spite of his business sagacity, it may be questioned whether he had any keen knowledge of men. Strong-willed to the point of obstinacy, he helped himself freely to the things in the world that he wanted, and a contemplation of his life yields to this day a subtle sense of his own joyous satisfaction with the conditions of it.

In approaching his religious observances, I am aware that I tread upon delicate ground. It is nowhere recorded that they wished to make him deacon, and the church history of the towns he helped to found is not inspiring. But it was an inherited tendency in his race to aid the church by liberal giving, and to the minister of his early struggling manhood, the Rev. Dr. David Hall, of Sutton, he remained constant in friendship to the end of his life.

The management of Townshend was liberal. Its inhabitants were an agricultural people, thrifty and industrious, and maintain their reputation as such to this day But the change of jurisdiction from that of New Hampshire to New York, was fraught with unspeakable anxiety to the new settlers, since the charters granted to them by New Hampshire might or might not be confirmed to them by New York, the latter, however, professing a worthy desire that property rights should be respected. The re-

sults were unsatisfactory, the trouble increased, and in the county convention held at Westminster, April 11, 1775, following the uprising known as the Westminster Massacre of a month previous, it was "voted that Colonel John Hazeltine, Charles Phelps, Esq., and Colonel Ethan Allen be a committee to prepare such remonstrance and petition to His Most Gracious Majesty in Council as would remove the remonstrants from the oppressive jurisdiction of New York." The committee appointed appears to have taken no action. The battle of Lexington and Concord a few days later swallowed up every minor consideration, and the really patriotic people of Cumberland County, New York, gathered themselves together for sympathetic action.

Colonel John Hazeltine was already Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence of Cumberland County, which numbered twenty-eight members from twenty-one towns, formed at the start for the purpose of interchange of sentiment with the Committee of Correspondence of New York City, but including later similar committees elsewhere; and as Chairman he was "empowered to call the County Committee together, by way of their delegates on any important emergency." He had arisen to the exigencies of the time magnificently, and nowhere else does he appear to better advantage than when, at the age of seventy-three years, he bows his fine old shoulders to receive whatever public burden of work or responsibility his fellow citizens might see fit to place there. "His patriotism was of an ardent and energetic sort," says the Vermont Governor and Council record, "and won for him the title of King Hazeltine" from his opponents. One of the most important of the County Conventions held was that of June 6, 1775, John Hazeltine, Chairman. At the request of the Provincial Congress of New York, that delegates from Cumberland County should be sent to that body, Colonel John Hazeltine, Dr. Paul Spooner

and William Williams, Esq., were chosen, and took their seats as members of the New York Provincial Congress on the 21st day of June, 1775.

A letter from Colonel Hazeltine of June 8, to the President of the Provincial Congress, in which he states the proceedings of the recent County Convention makes very interesting reading, even at this late day, and is the masterly work of a fearless and resolute man.

He represents a very noble type of the early American citizen, and I am sure that I came across scores of men whose worthy achievements are recorded along with his who are slowly passing into oblivion. They can suffer it—who did their work faithfully and passed on. But not so with their descendants. No, not to the remotest one whose blood is tinctured ever so slightly with the heroic crimson that warmed their veins.

These men will be the giants of generations to come, and under fabled names will live in song and story. But to History and Science they are inexpressibly precious, under their true names, and in their real and legitimate relationship to the great present and future.

Col. Hazeltine was too old when transplanted to Vermont to take very firm root there. It is a significant circumstance that he reared no new dwelling for himself and wife, but passed his remaining years in the home of his favorite son-in-law, General Samuel Fletcher, the husband of his youngest daughter, Mehitable.

Judge Phelps says that he gave to them the bulk of his property before he died, and commended to their care the wife of his youth, who lived to extreme old age.

The death of, perhaps, his most tenderly beloved son, Silas, which occurred before his own, must have seemed to him like the lopping off of his good right arm, and doubtless loosened his hold upon life. Silas was the stripling he took to war with him, and the one he delighted to call upon later to qualify as his bondsman, when occasion

demanded such; so greatly had Silas improved the chances which his father cast in his way.

Acquisitiveness, a family trait, was largely developed in him, and one can fancy the thinly-veiled pride of the father as the young man declared his possessions.

The inventory of his estate (he died at the age of thirty-eight years) sums up handsomely for that day of small things, including four negro slaves.

It appears by the Probate Court Records of Worcester County that Colonel Hazeltine was appointed guardian of Silas Hazeltine's eldest son shortly before his own death, giving bonds in £800. And Colonel Hazeltine himself appears to have died in Worcester County, probably while upon business relating to his family.

There is something large and finely patriarchal in the position he maintained in his extensive family connection, the interests of which seem everywhere very closely identified with his own. Three of his sons, and four, certainly, of his sons-in-law, with their families, removed with him to Vermont.

Of these General Samuel Fletcher and Captain Josiah Fish were the first delegates in General Convention from Eastern Vermont, and their names appear frequently in state documents.

In the several biographical sketches of General Fletcher which I have read, his success in life is invariably attributed to his fortunate marriage. General Fletcher's family scattered. One of his grandsons became a Governor of Michigan.

All of Colonel Hazeltine's sons and sons-in-law seem to have reasonably prospered while he lived; and the final adjustment of his own property was such as pleased him best. This proved unsatisfactory to some when the power of his strong presence was removed, and one of his sons-in-law, Dr. Joshua Wood, entered a claim against the estate for £1,500.

After vainly petitioning the Court that the sum be disallowed or cut down, the estate was declared insolvent. Colonel Hazeltine died intestate, willing, apparently, that after his decease the law should take its course.

I have nowhere found the exact date of his death, which occurred toward the close of the year 1777; but my research has been by no means exhaustive. There would seem to have been no appreciable interval of inactivity, and the summons may have been sudden, as I fancy that valiant, resolute, warm-hearted gentleman would have desired.

The state documents of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York and Vermont bear witness to his fidelity as a public servant, in such positions as he was called upon to fill. But he was one only of a vast and forgotten army of undistinguished citizens.

No portrait of him exists, in so far as I know. His character is so plainly indicated, however, in a study of his life, that an assumption, at least, of the expression of his countenance is not hazardous. That urbane manner, in a man of his mould, would surely have given place at times to a certain arrogance of bearing when off his guard, which would just as surely have been somewhere indicated in his physiognomy.

But, since generosity was his most dazzling virtue; his courage undoubted; his sense of humor keen, and his affection for his wife and children constant and sweet,—the general expression of his face must have been singularly benign and noble.

While I would not venture to suggest his lineaments in the flesh, his traits of character, and their proportions, have now become so familiar to my thought that I am persuaded I should recognize his personality without difficulty, under the more favorable conditions of a disembodied soul.

The committee to whom had been referred the matter of observing the twenty-fifth anniversary of the organization of the Society, made a report, recommending that Tuesday evening, January 23, be fixed as the date, and that the exercises be held in Salisbury hall, and it was voted that same committee proceed to perfect arrangements for observance of the day.

Mr. J. L. Estey called attention to the death of Rev. Geo. F. Clark, West Acton.

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOCIETY.

It was decided by the committee having in charge the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society that the occasion should be made, in so far as possible, a social gathering of its members: and they issued the following:

TO MEMBERS OF

THE WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY

In accordance with a vote passed at the last regular meeting, the observance of the

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

of the

establishment of this Society will be held at the SOCIETY'S ROOMS, SALISBURY STREET,

TUESDAY EVENING, JAN'Y 23 ,1900.

Doors will be open at 6 o'clock.

Banquet to be served in SALISBURY HALL, at 7 o'clock.

Music will be provided, and several prominent persons have been invited to deliver brief speeches.

The Committee of Arrangements extend an invitation to all members of the Society who can do so, to dress on this occasion in the style of garments that were worn twenty-five years ago, or even at the period of the early settlement of Worcester, 1713 to 1775.

Price of Tickets, $1.00 each; and it is earnestly hoped that members will unite in assisting the Committee in their efforts to make the occasion one of the pleasing events in the history of the Society.

Provision will be made for only those who send notice to the Committee of their intention to be present, and purchase tickets, and such notice must be in the hands of the Committee on or before Jan'y 18th.

COMMITTEE:
ELLERY B. CRANE,
WILLIAM T. FORBES,
MRS. WILLIAM T. FORBES,
NATHANIEL PAINE,
MRS. NATHANIEL PAINE,
WILLIAM F. ABBOT,
DANIEL KENT,
MRS. DANIEL KENT,
M. A. MAYNARD,
E. I. COMINS,
WALTER DAVIDSON,
BENJAMIN T. HILL,
A. B. R. SPRAGUE,
MRS. A. B. R. SPRAGUE,
MISS M. L. T. COGSWELL,
MISS GEORGIA A. BACON,
C. F. DARLING,
MRS. C. F. DARLING,
MRS. NELLIE F. ROGERS.

Worcester, Mass.,
Jan'y 8, 1900.

Promptly at the hour mentioned in the notice, members began to assemble at the library building, the persons whose names are appended to the above notice acting as Reception Committee. Music was furnished by the Ideal Banjo, Mandolin and Guitar Club, Harry N. Davis, leader.

The appearance of many women dressed in antique costumes proved a very pleasant feature of the evening, adding no little interest to the occasion. The entire building was open to the inspection of those present.

At seven o'clock Caterer Rebboli announced that the tables were ready, when the procession was immediately formed on the floor of the library room, and with President Crane and Rev. Carlton A. Staples leading, proceeded to the hall, where the tables were laid for 120 plates. Flowers and potted plants were used in profusion, and the beautiful hall, with its fresh decorations, and the unique costumes, under the glare of the incandescent lamps, formed a beautiful picture. Rev. Carlton A. Staples invoked divine blessing, and the audience took seats at the tables. At eight o'clock the literary feature of the occasion was started by President Crane, who spoke as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen—Members of The Worcester Society of Antiquity:

We have gathered here to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of this Society.

There was nothing of special significance attending its birth. No great revolution, either in civil or military affairs, caused it to spring into life.

It was not formed for the purpose of promoting or blighting any particular industry, profession or sect. Its origin was the result of a most simple act on the part of a handful of gentlemen interested in the study and preservation of historical data, and who were desirous of contributing their mite toward the public weal, without reward other than the thought they perhaps may have rendered some lasting public service during their day and generation.

Its announcement came unaccompanied by endowment, or the slightest pledge of pecuniary support. For several years it wandered homeless from door to door, seeking here

and there to find a resting place among its members. The story of its growth and development seems almost like a dream to those who have been quietly laboring within its circle; surprise and success hath cheered and encouraged the workmen on to making fresh resolves and further efforts to bring their favorite association up to a high standard among kindred societies. At the age of ten years, it had found a place among the recognized public institutions of our city and the state.

Many of you may recall the impressive and interesting ceremony that took place fifteen years ago in that historic Old South Church building, that stood on Worcester Common, when our book of records for the first decade was closed, and we presented the title-page of the volume that was then to be written.

At the time of our tenth anniversary, January, 1885, the home of the Society was in Bank block, Foster street, occupying two small rear rooms on second floor of the building, with entrance at foot of the stairs leading to the floor above.

The crowded condition of that little home, as well as the creditable work which the Society had performed, were subjects of special comment at the banquet-table, and one of Worcester's noblemen there said (referring to a library building) that when the imperative need came something would have to be done.

The Society plodded on, never slacking its pace until every inch of wall-space in those rooms was covered and quantities of books and pamphlets were packed away in boxes, beside many more that were stacked in heaps in every available corner of the apartment. Offers of books, as well as various historical relics, were refused acceptance for lack of room in which to store them. Members of the Society were becoming anxious as to what could be done for relief. They knew what was needed, but how could the needful be obtained? Just at this trying moment, when con-

ditions were becoming desperately serious, the following came to hand:

Worcester, Oct. 1, 1889.

Ellery B. Crane, Esq.,
President of the Worcester Society of Antiquity.

My dear Sir: As a member of the Society, and as a citizen cognizant of the good work done by individuals connected with it, I am desirous to assist towards the preservation of the valuable historical and literary collections already made, and to help provide larger accommodations for their increase. In order to take a step to this end, I now offer to The Worcester Society of Antiquity a lot of land about ninety feet northwardly from land owned by the Central Church, on the westerly side of Salisbury street, of a frontage upon Salisbury street of eighty feet, more or less, and a depth of one hundred and twelve feet, more or less; upon the condition that within ten years from the date of this gift The Worcester Society of Antiquity shall erect thereon and occupy for the purpose of the institution, a brick or stone building costing not less than $15,000.

If the proposition shall commend itself to our Society, I will at once make conveyance of the property.

Very respectfully yours,
STEPHEN SALISBURY.

How propitious! What a munificent gift! The brilliant ray of sunshine that missive let in upon the Society dispelled all the clouds that were hanging about the horizon of the struggling institution.

The gift was accepted with most grateful acknowledgments. It gave fresh impetus to the willing workers. But with the generous gift came grave and increased responsibilities. At the very first meeting of the new year, January 7, 1890, a committee was elected to solicit funds with which to erect a library building, also another committee to prepare and submit plans for such a structure. The prospect

of having a permanent home for the Society girded the members for systematic work to further the enterprise. At the May meeting the plans were submitted. But their final adoption came at the following meeting held June 3d, when a Building Committee was chosen to proceed with the work of construction.

The excavations were made, and the foundation put in during the autumn of 1890. February, 1891, the contract was awarded for final completion of the building, and the dedication exercises were held in this hall November 24th, since which time this building has been our home.

I have not told you where the money came from to meet the payments as the work progressed.

If you remember, I left the committee soliciting funds. They first canvassed the members of the Society, who responded manfully, but that was not enough. An appeal was made to friends of the institution; they, too, came to our support with true generosity. But I should be unjust did I not tell you that to our honored and highly-esteemed citizen, Hon. Stephen Salisbury, we owe far more than we can ever repay.

Looking out from this twenty-fifth birthday, we see that The Worcester Society of Antiquity has reached a position where she can carry forward the work for which she was instituted with renewed vigor. Never has her future looked brighter or more encouraging than at this very moment. With a little co-operation on the part of the grateful public whom we are trying to serve, the pathway of the Society to continued success may be assured without difficulty.

At ten years of age, the Society consisted of 160 members, including the active, corresponding and honorary lists. Our publications reached nearly 3,000 octavo pages. We were the possesors of a library containing 5,000 bound volumes, 15,000 pamphlets, and a collection of 1,342 articles in the department of relics and curiosities.

At the age of twenty-five years our membership-list indi-

cates 420. We have a substantial library building, the land on which it stands valued at $30,000, with 15,000 bound volumes and 27,000 pamphlets on our shelves (not including duplicates); a museum filled with rare and costly relics numbering upwards of 3,000 articles.

The value of contents of library and museum is beyond calculation, while the number of printed octavo pages bearing the seal of the Society issued during the past twenty-five years, can not be far from 6,000.

May we not justly, and without egotism, point with pride to the results of our labors for the first quarter of a century, and express the hope that those who may live to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary may present as good a report of their stewardship?

Continuing, he said: "Although this perhaps may be styled a family gathering, and we are here to voice our own praises and pass our own criticisms, the Committee of Arrangements has instructed me to call the names of a few individuals, whom we, of course, shall expect will continue the glad refrain, or perhaps criticise the conduct of the Society, as they may see fit. It was expected His Honor Mayor Rufus B. Dodge, Jr., would be here, and we designed to ask him to occupy the first few moments, but in his absence we will call upon the honorable ex-Congressman, Joseph H. Walker, to speak for the city of Worcester.

HON. J. H. WALKER.

I am called to speak for Worcester. How her name stirs us! As we hear the name of Washington, or of Lincoln, or of Grant, or any of the ancient worthies pronounced, how it opens the mind and heart to a flood of memories, and becomes an inspiration. We are all the better for thinking of them, nobler, truer, and still more of the worthies of Sacred Writ. I have been absent from Worcester, traveling over

my own country somewhat, and other countries. I have been charged by Worcester and by a segment of this county with large responsibilities, but there never has been a moment when I was doing things, large or small, but that Worcester was present to my mind. I do not believe that there is one of us here, however highly we may regard Worcester, however much we may be conscious of what we owe to Worcester, that realizes how God has favored Worcester. I have known Worcester now for fifty-seven years. I came to Worcester in 1843, and six months afterward the way opened for me to attend school, and I went to the Thomas street school of 200 boys. They were the boys of every family in Worcester that had boys, and formed what would be now the ninth grade, or the high school. I knew their fathers, and, in fact, nearly every citizen in Worcester with her population then of from 7,000 to 8,000 people. I believe that no municipality, great or small, in the world had so high an average body of citizens in everything that makes for nobility.

First of all, in integrity. I remember Governor Lincoln, Samuel M. Burnside, Captain Moore, William Paine, William A. Wheeler. I will not go through with names, for my time is short. I want to say to the citizens of Worcester here present that there is not one of us that is conscious of what we owe to Worcester. Many of the inventions that have sent the world forward were made in Worcester and the towns near at hand. Here is where Elias Howe invented the sewing-machine; George Crompton and Knowles, the loom.

And then the educational side. Almost every hill is crowned with schools. We have public schools that will compare favorably with any schools on the face of the earth. But that does not suffice; we must have better schools, and when the citizens of Worcester put their hands to any enterprise, they are never satisfied until they have the best. They not only want the best, in order that they may exert the

highest influence upon those who come under its influence, but they want it that they may be compared with like institutions everywhere throughout the country. Self-respect, self-esteem, is the foundation of noble effort. We never undertake what we do not think we can accomplish, and I do not think that there is any place on the face of the earth where citizens hold their heads higher, or think any more of themselves, than they do in Worcester—particularly the women—here they excel! It is well for us to appreciate these things.

Forty years ago I was riding in the cars from Philadelphia to New York, and sat on a seat with a Southerner. We were talking politics, a little gently—had to talk them gently then, when a Southerner and a Northerner, especially an abolitionist, were talking, if we wanted to sit on the same seat a great while. And he was condemning abolitionists, and Worcester as the hotbed of abolitionists, where the Free-soil party was started. He was saying to me he was going to that hole in Worcester. I said, "Are you?" And he said, "Yes." I asked, "What leads you to Worcester? I should think you would go the other way as fast as you could go." "The fact is," he said, "I have to use four things in my business. There is not a place on the earth where I can get them but the city of Worcester." And he said, "I have been talking to you pretty strongly about the city of Worcester, but you cannot help but respect and admire a place that is ahead of all the rest of the world as Worcester is."

The citizens of Worcester are not quite as careful as they ought to be of their health. I preached many a sermon to my compeers, to Moen and George Crompton and Knowles and several others that have gone over, but ought to be here now and for many years longer. We want, besides attending energetically to our business, to have some recreation and pleasure of a physical nature and of an intellectual nature as these institutions that we give our attention to.

Why, I think that one thing that has preserved my life with fair vigor, and why I am out to-night, is because I have insisted on my physical recreation. When I was comparatively poor—I think I was worth $4,300—a man appeared on the factory steps one morning, and said he wanted to look at some goods. I said, "You cannot; I am going shooting." He said, "I will have to buy of someone else." But the next morning he was there to examine my stock. I want to suggest to the business men of the city of Worcester that where you have great affairs to manage you can do more work in four days in the week than in six.

I am much obliged to you for your kind attention. (Applause.)

The President—Worcester county has furnished a long list of noteworthy men and women, philanthropists, lawyers, doctors, and ministers, and Mendon, one of the oldest towns in the county, has furnished her quota of them. A representative is with us, one of our true and tried friends, and I have much pleasure in presenting Rev. Carlton A. Staples of Lexington.

REV. CARLTON A. STAPLES.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

While I was listening to the admirable speech which we have just heard from the ex-Congressman, I felt almost ashamed that I was not born in Worcester, but next to being born in Worcester is to be born in Worcester county, and I was born within fifteen or eighteen miles of this city, and grew up with great admiration for it. I came to school in Worcester when sixteen or seventeen years of age, and I think I can endorse almost everything that the gentleman has said in admiration and praise of this dear old town of Worcester. The county which it represents, of which it is the capital, is in my mind the first of all the counties of

this state in the solid character of the people. It has always had, I think, that reputation, and I am glad to be informed that it has it still.

Mr. President, you spoke of the distinguished persons that have been born in the humble town of old Mendon, and it came to my mind as you spoke that so far as we are able to solve that problem of who originated the language of the immortal Declaration of Independence, it was first heard and first enunciated in the town of Mendon, in the annual town meeting held there on the first day of March, 1773, when the citizens of Mendon reported a series of resolutions that were unanimously adopted by the town; the first three of them are almost precisely in the words of the Declaration written four years later by Thomas Jefferson. It is a fact that can not be doubted, because the resolutions are entered on the town books, and there was no tampering with the date or any part of it, and the first three of the series, as I have said, contain almost the exact language, as well as the precise sentiment of Jefferson. The author of the resolutions was Joseph Dorr, who afterwards became judge of probate for the county, the son of the minister who had grown up there in that town.

But I wish to bring, first of all, Mr. President, the congratulations of our Lexington Historical Society to this Society for the very generous treatment that we have received from you in having sent to us, from time to time, all your publications. We have esteemed them highly. Some of the articles in those publications are really very valuable, and the whole series is a credit—a very high credit to this Society. And when it was understood at our last meeting that I was to be present at this meeting, the President asked to have a resolution introduced instructing me to give the thanks of the Lexington Historical Society to the Worcester Society of Antiquity for the very kind and generous contributions to our library in the matter of their publications.

I came up here, Mr. President, with a little satisfaction,

thinking of our own Historical Society, and what we have accomplished in the ten or fifteen years—fifteen, I think—of our existence, but I must say when I was taken through your museum here, I felt very much as it is related that the Queen of Sheba felt when she came to visit Solomon at Jerusalem. Solomon wanted to show off what he had, and took her around and showed her his beautiful palaces and stables of horses and chariots, and his vast retinue of servants, etc., and the account says the Queen of Sheba said, "I have heard of your wisdom and your wealth and your great honors before, but the half of it has not been told me." And then it adds that she had not any spirit left in her, she was so completely overwhelmed with the extent of Solomon's grandeur. And I felt very much so when I went through your museum.

Now, I do not know as you fully appreciate—I fancy that you do not—the value and extent of that collection. I have seen a great many similar collections. I have never seen one that was richer in fine historic relics than that, and it amused me to be informed that all those articles have been given; they have not been bought with money, but donated to this institution. Now, either I am not grateful, or it is an ungrateful fact to me, for we are not able to get such donations to our Historical Society, and if I had not known your President so well, I should have felt about that statement as it is said the king of Siam did when told by a Dutch missionary that in Holland the rivers were frozen over in winter, and became solid, so they could drive great teams over them. The king said, "You have told me many wonderful things, and I have believed you because I thought you an honest man, but now I know you lie!" I felt like saying that to your President when he assured me all those articles have been given.

We have, as I have informed you, an historical society in Lexington. I want to tell you about a few things we have collected there, and first we have secured for the Lexington

society that old historical house in which Hancock and Adams were sleeping on the night before the battle of Lexington. Hancock had come there to see a lady-love, Dorothy Quincy, staying at the house, and Samuel Adams was there with him. The account, as you know, tells us that they were aroused by Paul Revere about midnight, and he informed them the British were on the march to arrest them, and that after informing them of this he rode on to Concord to give the alarm there. Well, that old house has a very interesting history, and it is connected, as you see at once, with the important scenes of the Revolution. They fled from the house to the adjoining town of Woburn to a house where they were just sitting down to breakfast, and when the alarm was given there that the British were still in pursuit of them, they left and went to Billerica. So much for the house. The Lexington society bought it when about to be torn down, and by raising something like $4,000 we have put it in good repair, and we are now collecting there all the relics and interesting objects connected with those scenes, and you will be surprised to learn the number of visitors that we have there. During eighteen months, or less than eighteen months, since the register was opened there, five or six thousand names have been registered from all parts of this country and many foreign countries. We charge no fee for admission; it is open and free to everyone, and we have a contribution-box inside, and people are invited to put in what they like. We have received during the last year $350. I tell you this to show you what interest there is in that old house, and the history connected with it. I want to say further that during the last year we have put there a tablet to the memory of a person who had some connection with the events of the Revolution, an Englishman that we have believed deserved to be honored. Let me just relate the circumstances.

At the battle of Lexington—of course I mean all that occurred on that day, for what transpired at Lexington in

the early morning is hardly to be dignified as a battle—during the day ten of our citizens were killed, and ten wounded, which shows that Lexington suffered very severely in that encounter. A man in London by the name of John Horn was a great friend of the Americans. He was a clergyman of the Church of England, and when he received news of what had occurred on that day, he called a meeting in London to protest against the conduct of the government, and he proposed that a sum of money be raised, and immediately presented to Dr. Franklin, for the benefit of the widows and orphans of those slain in Lexington and Concord on that day. He raised one hundred pounds, and sent it to Dr. Franklin, and it was so distributed. The government arrested that man for what he had done and said. He was tried before Lord Mansfied, Chief Justice of England, at that time the greatest of English barristers, and convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of a thousand pounds and one year's imprisonment. He paid the fine, and remained in prison one year. When he came out the government still hounded him, and shut off every path of usefulness remaining to him. He studied law, and was refused admission to the courts because it was said he was a clergyman. Then he ran for Parliament, and the first and second times he was defeated, but the third time elected, and then was refused admission to Parliament because he was a clergyman, and so the government thwarted that man almost to his death. He was arrested during the time of the French Revolution for an alleged conspiracy to overthrow the English government, but it was proven that he had nothing to do with any such conspiracy. And so we have learned the history of that man, and put on a tablet in our house respecting these facts, using the language he did when he addressed the meeting to raise the money for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the slain on that day.

Now, we want to see you all in Lexington. A few years

ago a portion of this Society came to visit us, I think ten or fifteen years ago. If you will come this year we will show you more than we did then, and I think we can give you a pleasanter reception, and I have been reminded since I have been here of this thought that we enjoy exceedingly. We are about to erect a monument to Captain John Parker, who commanded the "minute-men" on that day. We have placed on the land where the "minute-men" formed a huge bowlder, and inscribed it with the language that Captain Parker used to the men, and they are splendid words: "Stand your ground! Don't fire unless fired upon. But if they mean to have a war, let it begin here!" And it did begin there. There is to be, as I said, a bronze statue of Captain Parker placed upon a foundation close to the spot he stood up when he uttered those words. The foundation is now completed, and the bronze statue also, and it is to be dedicated on the 19th of April, and we shall be glad to welcome as many of you then as can find it convenient to come; but if you can not come then, come sometime in the summer, and we will give you the heartiest welcome we can.

In the meantime, let me say, in conclusion, that what has been accomplished by this Society during these twenty-five years surprises, astonishes me. I do not believe the equal of it can be found in this country. I am not aware of a society of the age of this that has been able to do so much. I do not know how it was done. There must have been hard work here, study and investigation, and there must have been on the part of some one a great deal of money given also. May I express, in conclusion, my thanks for the pleasure of being present here to-night and meeting so many of these generous workers and givers, and also with the hope that in years to come you may go on in the grand way in which you have begun, and accomplish more and more in gathering here the interesting relics of these olden times? (Applause.)

The President—Mr. Staples has brought to mind the Revolutionary War. At the close of the Revolutionary War, Worcester county became the home of a large number of the soldiers of that war, among them a very large number of officers, constituting a long list of lieutenants, captains and generals that that war produced. They were so thick here at one time that General Rufus Putnam organized a colony to move out and settle the state of Ohio, and to return the compliment we have one of the distinguished citizens of Ohio with us, who has been called here to assist in educating our young men, and I have the pleasure of presenting to you Dr. Thomas C. Mendenhall, President of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute.

DR. THOMAS C. MENDENHALL.

My good Friends: The President of this Society and chairman of the Committee of Arrangements wrote me a note a few weeks ago, in which he was kind enough to request that I should be present as a member of the Society, as I am glad to be to-night, and added that he would be pleased to have me say a few words. It is true I have not had the honor and pleasure of being born in Worcester or Worcester county, but I can not but feel that one who has had the fortune, as you have intimated, of being born in Ohio, and of growing up to manhood in Ohio, is fortunate, and finally when old age is creeping over him, and his faculties are growing weak, to be able to be doctored and cared for in Worcester. So, after all, though not born in Worcester or Worcester county, I feel that I have much to be thankful for to-night, and one of those things is the opportunity and pleasure of being here and saying a few words.

One thought has been in my mind during the evening, and that is the importance of such a society as this at this special time—the special importance of it at the present

time. I suppose everybody knows the nineteenth century is of all the greatest. I have sometimes thought that the present age is the Golden Age, and must always have been and probably always will be, but nevertheless I think an historian of a future one, perhaps writing a century from now, will not hesitate to put the nineteenth century very decidedly to the front, in comparison with all the centuries gone before. You are familiar with that work of Alfred R. Wallace, who shares with Darwin the honor of the discovery of the doctrine of evolution, in which he treats of this one century. He enumerates in his book the great discoveries that have been made from the beginning of the history of mankind, taking only the very greatest of them—what he estimates to be the very greatest. Altogether he enumerates, if I remember correctly, twenty-six, and including such as the mariner's compass known in the past age—we do not know the discoverer—and others, such as the invention of printing by movable type, perhaps the most important of all the discoveries and inventions made in the history of man; I think he includes the invention of gunpowder—in all, as I say, twenty-six in number. Mr. Wallace, who is certainly very competent to form judgment in matters of this kind, says that out of the twenty-six, sixteen of them have been in the nineteenth century; so that we find the nineteenth century, in that respect, at least, is superior not only to any of the centuries, but to all of the centuries that have gone before. The nineteenth century has also had its climax, and that climax is to be found in the last twenty-five years, that is, during the life of this Society, whose twenth-fifth anniversary we are celebrating to-night. Those here have had the pleasure of witnessing the most remarkable series of evolutions the world has ever seen. It is important to impress upon ourselves, I think, the fact that we have had the pleasure of living in a period of twenty-five years in which more has been done to change the aspect of man to his physical and material

environment than has ever been done in any similar period of the world. It seems to me, therefore, that that fact alone gives to this Society a special significance and fitness.

I would like to remind you of the interesting changes that have taken place in that time and during the last hundred years. How different life is to-day even from what it was twenty-five years ago. Twenty-five years ago, as you will remember, was the period of the great World's Fair, or great Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. We have had many exhibitions greater than that since 1876, but we have never had, and perhaps never shall have, a collection of objects which has so materially influenced the whole life of all learned people as did the exhibition of 1876, just about the date of the origin of this Society, and I am almost constantly impelled to look back on what was shown at that time as an examplar of the world at that time, and am fond of comparing it with what it is to-day. I remember in the great Machinery Hall was exhibited a very small affair, which perhaps attracted as much attention to those interested in engineering as anything else in the whole exhibition. It was a little affair, only a few feet long and a few inches high, composed mostly of cast iron and some bundles of copper wire, and the movable part was run by a belt attached to a shaft. That was the great electric dynamo, the first of its kind exhibited, and that little machine ran during the exhibition three electric lights, the first exhibited in this country, and now an enormous amount of capital alone is invested in that enterprise to-day; many millions — indeed more than one hundred millions of dollars—are to-day used in the manufacture of those things represented by that one machine. When I think of that dynamo and the enormous results accomplished through it, I know something of the progress of the world during the past twenty-five years.

Then, things twenty-five years ago that were in fashion—clothing and domestic utensils—are now out of fashion, and

a society of this kind can have no better function, it seems to me, than the preservation of the literature of that period relating to those things and the samples of the things themselves.

We are in a very remarkable transition period. I venture to predict the human race will not see another period of twenty-five years comparable with that passed in the next hundred years, and I will say five hundred years—I make that with confidence because I think many of you will not be then able to contradict me! Realizing the very interesting period through which we are now passing, that fact magnifies the importance of this Society and similar societies in my mind.

A few days ago I went through a large manufacturing place where shoes are manufactured. It was the first time since coming to this part of the world that I examined a shoe factory where more than 1000 men were working. In going about one part of it, I came upon two workmen sitting on a low bench covered on one end with leather, and I recognized the old shoemaker's bench that I knew in my boyhood. The proprietor very kindly guided me about, and at my calling attention to them, he said they were the only two men in the whole shop who could make a *whole shoe*. This was a very impressive statement to me. So we have been differentiating and specializing in all our operations. What was represented there is represented in all instances of to-day, and it is hard to know what the future has in store for us. So I repeat it, it is the business of this Society, and those interested in it, to interest others in the preservation of the things that will be of interest to those who come after us to know about the transition period through which we are now passing.

The modes of conveyance are interesting. We have heard to-night about the stables of horses of Solomon and the chariots in which he rode. It is very interesting to know that at the beginning of the century it does not show that

they differed much from them. The chariot in which George Washington rode did not differ much, and the garments did not differ much in mode of manufacture from those worn thousands of years ago. But all that has been revolutionized and changed during the past one hundred years. About twenty-five years ago the cost of transportation a mile in this country was represented by several cents per ton mile on the railroads. That was considered a gratifying condition of things.

Recently I learned a most gratifying fact, that in the transportation of coal, wheat, or iron-ore upon the Great Lakes during the past season, this point has been reached: that a ton of freight was carried one mile by the combustion of one-third of an ounce of coal; the energy generated was sufficient to transport one ton one mile. So anyone can mail to Chicago in an envelope with a two-cent stamp on it enough coal to carry a ton a mile. That illustrates the enormous transformation we are witnessing, and it is a gratification to contribute a very little toward this subject.

I want, in conclusion, to express my unbounded admiration for those comparatively few members of the Society who have made it, and who have kept it going. The society has, I am glad to say, a good many members, but I fear it has a good many members no more punctual in attendance than I. This is a very busy world as we know, and we can not do everything, but it is gratifying to know that some are willing to specialize, and they try to keep the Society in active condition, and to him, I think, all honor and credit are due for it. (Applause.)

The President—There is one special feature in connection with this gathering to-night which I can not allow to escape without notice. At our banquet in 1885, when we celebrated the tenth anniversary, women had not been admitted to membership. At that time there was a sign over the door for admission: "No Women Need Apply." But we have

grown in wisdom, the sign has been taken down, and to-day we have the satisfaction of knowing that women are most able and willing helpers in the work of this Society, and it seems highly proper that they should on this occasion take a prominent part in this the first of the banquets we have enjoyed with their presence as members; and I have the pleasure of presenting to you Miss Georgia A. Bacon, President of the Woman's Club, whom we are glad to call a member of this Society.

MISS GEORGIA A. BACON.

Mr. President, Members of the Society, and Guests:

When our President asked me to say a few words this evening, I felt I must positively decline, as I am no speech-maker, but after thinking the matter over, as we do not want the men to think that they can do it all, I decided to avail myself of woman's privilege and call your attention to what the women have done, therefore I will say a very few words about women's clubs.

A little more than twenty-five years ago, I believe it was in the late sixties, the first real woman's club came into existence. It had existed in embryo for many years, for as long ago as the time of the Puritans the women had reading societies, and held meetings for discussion, but a club, I suppose, would have been considered an invention of his Satanic majesty. Imagine the horror and disgust of Hannah Adams, and other women of that time, being called club-women. Mrs. Croly (Jennie June) is looked upon as the first organizer of a woman's club, with Mrs. Julia Ward Howe a close second, and God in His most merciful providence has allowed them both to see, in a measure, the fruit of their labors. In the beginning women's clubs were very small, simple self-improvement being their main object, but later as their horizon widened they saw the advantage of numbers. They realized that in union there is

strength, and that great organization and general federation of women's clubs came into being. The clubs have increased steadily in size and numbers, until to-day it is estimated, in the United States alone, there are nearly, if not quite, two hundred thousand club women.

Their work has been largely along the lines of education, in educating public opinion, for the improvement of the public-school system. That has been shown by the establishment of the kindergarten, the manual-training school, vacation schools, and last, but by no means least, schools of domestic science. It would take a whole evening to tell all that has been accomplished by women's clubs throughout this country, not only in education, but in social reforms. They have improved the condition of towns by village improvement societies; they have established hospitals; they have introduced libraries, both private and public, in this part of the country as well as the South and West, and have awakened an interest in the industrial relations of women and children. What a field is open before them! Woman is no longer confined to a narrow sphere, but the whole world is hers. She is stretching forth her hand to every good work. She is learning to forget self, and to know the secret of true living. The fashionable sphere of a few years ago is a thing of the past, thank God! And the woman I heard of who was bounded on the north by children, on the south by ailments, on the east by servants, and on the west by clothes, is fast breaking bounds, and going forward to a richer and nobler life. Let me, in closing, read a poem by Sam Walter Foss entitled:

SENCE MARY JINED THE CLUB.

By Sam Walter Foss.

Yis, life 'ith us hez allus bin a pooty serious rub;
But somehow things is pleasanter sence Mary jined the club.
Mary's a marster han' to talk, a reg'lar talk expert;
But w'at she useter talk about wuz cleanin' house an' dirt;

'Bout bringin' mud in on my feet, an' hangin' up my clo'es;
Of Tom's protrudin' elbows an' of Dick's protrudin' toes;
An' 'bout her pies that got baked-on, 'bout preserves that soured,
An' 'bout her tin an' pewter pans she never could keep scoured;
An' 'bout the everlastin' flies she driv out twice a day,
'Bout rats that et her cheeses up an' cats that spilt her whey;
'Bout cramp-spells with her scrubbin' brush, an' backache at her tub—
An' all that ar I useter hear 'fore Mary jined the club.

But now she talks 'bout Tennerson—the potery man, you know—
The potery man who writ so much—whose writin's jingle so;
About Jonmilton's bunkum verse, the best thing of its kind,
In his book about the devil w'ich he writ w'en he wuz blind;
An' 'bout a man named Shakespeare, too, whose geenyus hed no clogs,
Who spent his life in writin' down a mess er dialogues;
An' a man who writ long stories that her club folks greatly prize—
George W. Eliot I believe—they seem to me like lies;—
An' 'bout a chap named Blueing too, no—Browning—that's his name,
Who writ a book of puzzles with no answers to the same;
An' ol' Alf. Walter Emerson an' Wendull Phillips Holmes,
James Rustle Lynn—No? Lowell?—Yis—who writ so many pomes;
Sence all this stuff I hear about, my life ain't such a rub,
An' now I hear this every day sence Mary jined the club.

An' sometimes she gits talkin' 'bout the rennysarnce of art,
I don't know nothin' w'at it means, but she duz—she is smart.
W'y, the words she uses sometimes they is puffickly immense,
'Bout the "re-hab-bil-i-tashun of the scientific sense."
An' she talks of everlution: Say! you know what that ar is?
Yer don't? Wall, then, I'll tell you jest to show she knows her biz:

It is matters intergration
With conkomertant disserpation
Of motion.
From incoherent homergenierty
To a koherunt Hattie Rowe Genierty—
Cute notion.

Yes, sir, that is everlution. There ye hev it plain an' flat,—
An' Mary knows a lot er things that's pootier than that;
An' now Mary talks 'em to me, w'y, my life ain't sich a rub,
It's one sweet song of pooty words sence Mary jined the club.

Sometimes she talks for hours 'bout the planet Satan's rings,
The neberler hypothernuse an' them ar sort er things;
About the lates' theories of bisickle research,

An' lots er new theology I never heerd in church.
She knows the ol' philosophers that any man can know,
She knows John Stuart Factory an' Edward Ev'ritt Snow;
She describes the great procession that the equernoxes made,—
An' I thought the way she told it 'twas a tarnal long parade.
Oh, life ain't what it useter be, 'tain't no sich grind an' scrub,
For I jest soak in litracher sence Mary jined the club.

The President—Worcester county plays no insignificant part in the Massachusetts Legislature, and at the present time the city of Worcester is extremely fortunate in having a representative in that body that commands the respect and esteem of every other member in either branch, one who by his gentlemanly and scholarly qualities brings honor alike to himself and his constituents, while discharging his duties in the Senate of this Commonwealth; and I now have the pleasure of presenting to you Hon. Charles G. Washburn, senator from the 1st Worcester District.

HON. CHARLES G. WASHBURN.

Mr. Chairman, Members of The Worcester Society of Antiquity, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have been more fortunate than my distinguished friend on my right, because I was born in Worcester, and I may bring perhaps a crumb of consolation to the distinguished guest of the evening when I tell him that there was a time when Mendon was larger than Worcester. We have heard the glories of Worcester's past described in no uncertain tones, and it has been left to a son of Ohio to declare how great she shortly will become, when within the short space of thirty years we may hope to attain the size of 250,000 people—a time (applause) when you will not be decrepit, although perhaps your locks may then begin to be thin, and perhaps be tinged with gray.

It is a little remarkable to reflect that the more refined and intellectual a people become the more careful are they in the preservation of the things of the past. It is rather a

melancholy reflection that had it not been for the hand of man, the great temples of Egypt would have remained intact. The pigments and colors which have been laid on the walls of the Egyptian tombs retain the same brilliancy which they possessed 4,000 years ago. Had it not been for the hand of man, the Parthenon would to-day be standing in all its grace and beauty. Had it not been for the hand of man intent on pillage, the Coliseum would have been as perfect to-day as it was when the Christians were torn limb from limb by savage beasts. But as the peoples of the earth have grown in civilization and in grandeur, preservation and not destruction has been the ruling spirit of their lives.

It is in obedience to that feeling that societies like this have arisen, and have gathered within the walls of their treasure-houses the records of the past. Why, within a stone's throw of these walls is the site of the first mill that was ever built in Worcester over 200 years ago. Within a shorter distance, the waters of old Bimelech brook—better known as Mill brook—made their way from North pond down to the Blackstone river, and turned the wheels of the simple industries that were then the only ones that Worcester had to boast of. I have heard the story told, and I have often told it myself, that Judge Merrick once said to Samuel Slater that Worcester could never become a great manufacturing centre because she had no water power, and Mr. Slater replied, "Why, Judge Merrick, you will live to see the day when all the waters of Mill brook will be needed to make steam to drive the engines which shall give power to the factories of Worcester!" How literally has that prophecy been fulfilled. Almost at our very doors the Waldos and the Salisburys kept their country stores, and sold the goods imported from abroad, and how strong that suggestion sounds here to-night! Abraham Lincoln had his trip-hammer shop just across the square, and almost on the same spot stood the blacksmith shop of Tim-

othy Bigelow, whose romantic attachment for Anna Rankin is one of the bright spots in the rugged history of Worcester.

The development of Worcester during the last century can be followed by the records that are contained within these walls, and what a record it has been, almost within the memory of some of those now living! Every individual thread which entered the fabric of the clothes which the people wore was spun by the individual hand, and under the development of the inventive faculties and industrial energies of our people we have become great producers of textile machinery. I might, if I had time, follow out the development of all of our great manufacturing industries from slight beginnings, the presence of which can here be found.

You will find in the room below a photograph of that old shop in West Millbury where the eccentric lathe was invented, and you can find here relics which suggest the rude implements of those early days which have been perfected almost before our very eyes.

The development of the educational side of Worcester can be traced here, and what a change there has been in the social and in the intellectual and in the religious life of the people during these past years! It was but yesterday when on Lincoln street that a little band of Scotch Presbyterians erected a house of worship, only to have it torn down about their heads, and to flee for their lives to the more congenial soil of New Hampshire. As we progress in civilization and in learning, this small area in which we are can occupy our minds. The savage tribes needed to wander over the states and territories. The philosopher can occupy himself for a long time on a single square foot of ground. I believe it was the boast of a somewhat extraordinary individual, who hailed from the western part of our country, that the United States was bounded on the north by the aurora borealis, on the south by the succes-

sion of the equinoxes, on the east by eternal chaos, and on the west by the day of judgment. But an intelligent people does not need to deal with vast expanses, but concentrates itself upon the development of a single community, and lays up stores for the future student and investigator to draw his broad deductions from.

Now, I know it is a habit to dwell upon the good old times, and to compare them with the present, to the disadvantage of the latter. I have no particular sympathy with that view. While the old times were good, I believe that these are better. While the men of the olden days were great, I believe that the men of the more recent times, by reason of their greater advantages, are greater. Why, it seems but a short time ago, measured by the passage of history, when the poor debtor of Worcester was confined in a prison on the opposite side of Lincoln square. To-day the meanest tramp who comes to your door for bread, if by chance he meets with an accident, is by a public conveyance taken to a hospital, and all the training and the skill and the learning which have been accumulated through the ages are expended to keep in his body his wretched breath of life. What advancement does this mark in the progress of humanity and in the progress of civilization! Within the short space of this century, women and children of tender years have been compelled to work sixteen or eighteen hours a day, and to drag their wretched bodies back again on Sunday to clean the machinery. Contrast with this the legislation of to-day, which insists upon short hours, and which maintains a spirit of independence in the breast of the meanest operative in any of our mills. We might run over the whole category, and find the advancement to have been as great in all departments.

This may be, as my distinguished friend says, the Golden Age, and yet I have faith to believe that there are brighter ages yet to come. (Applause.)

The President—I can not declare this interesting meeting closed without calling upon one gentleman, whose name you have heard pronounced more than once in your presence, and on whom I have great pleasure in calling, although I have not given him any previous notice, but I believe he will pardon me if I call him out at this time—I refer to the Hon. Stephen Salisbury. (Continued applause.)

HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Your presence here to-night is a great gratification to all the members of the Society, because it insures the future progress of their institution in which they are so much interested. When I first knew of this Society, about in the eighties, soon after it was created, I attended some of the meetings on Foster street, and I was very much struck by the energy and industry and interest displayed by its members; the activity which they showed for all its interests, and though the membership was then small, I felt sure that it would grow. It did grow; it outgrew its quarters; and then it came into larger quarters, and since then the interests of the Society have been cared for by officers who are thoroughly interested and active in its behalf, and all of them, each of the presidents, of the vice-presidents, of the secretaries, of the treasurers, and of the committees and other officers, have been faithful in their trusts. And when this Society two years ago changed its rules, enlarged its membership, and took in the ladies as assistants and working members, the numbers were largely increased, and its influence promises to be greater. So far the results have been satisfactory, and I have no doubt they will continue to be more so, and that we shall rejoice that we have inaugurated this change, late as it has come.

I thank you, Mr. President, for the opportunity of being present to-night. (Applause.)

At the conclusion of Mr. Salisbury's remarks the formal exercises were dissolved, and after spending a little more time in sociability and inspecting the library and collections in the museum, the members dispersed to their homes, feeling that they had passed a most enjoyable and profitable evening.

$2.00 Per Year. *Single Numbers, 25 cents.*

THIS NUMBER CONTAINS: The Flintlock Used in Philip's War.

PROCEEDINGS

... OF ...

The Worcester Society of Antiquity,

WORCESTER, MASS.

1900. FEBRUARY. No. 2.

Winslow & Co.,
Bankers.
342 Main Street,
Worcester, Mass.

M. A. Maynard, for the special committee, reported that probably funds enough had been received to pay all bills incurred in providing for the anniversary banquet.

A communication from the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution was read. It contained a request that this Society use its influence for the purpose of having the graves of all Revolutionary soldiers indicated by proper markers.

The committees for the current year were then announced. Their names appear in the January number of the Society's proceedings.

The President called attention to the valuable assistance members might render by accepting his invitation, which he extended to each one in the Society, to prepare a paper to be read before the Society on such subjects as the writer should select.

Mr. F. L. Hutchins was then introduced, and read the following paper prepared by Hon. George Sheldon of Greenfield, in continuation of his discussion entered into with Rev. John C. Crane, showing that flintlock guns were in use during the period of King Philip's War.

THE FLINTLOCK USED IN PHILIP'S WAR.

The principal object of discussion, I suppose, is to bring out facts, not to point out errors of the other fellow, except so far as to prevent their spreading. Thanking Mr. John C. Crane for his generous estimate of my historical ability, I freely confess my liability to fall into error. Probably no one but myself knows how often I have done so. I do not object to adverse criticism, and am always glad to be set right when errors are discovered. If I continue the subject of "Flintlock and Matchlock," it is but to do to others as I would be done by. I here repeat what I said in my first paper, that "Flintlock and Matchlock" are used for the full arm.

Mr. Crane says, "Mr. Sheldon politely asks me a number of questions, all of which at this time I shall not attempt to answer." He probably has good reasons for his reticence. It is often easier to ask than to answer historical questions. Still I now propose to answer every question put to me by Mr. Crane. He assumes that, as a matter of course, I shall accept "Gregory's Dictionary of Arts and Sciences" as final authority. Perhaps not. Let us see. I agree with Gregory that "the early muskets were very heavy, and could not be used without a rest;" and that "from the time it took to prepare and adjust the match * * * their fire was not so brisk as ours is now" [1806], and that "afterwards a lighter matchlock musket came in use." I do not accept his dictum "that firelocks were first made use of in 1690;" and I gauge the depths of his research when he continues, "but when invented we cannot ascertain." But Mr. Crane, on the confessed authority of Dr. Gregory, says "*no such arm was known*" in 1675.

The first edition of Dr. Gregory's work was published in London in 1806, and he died in 1808. The first American edition was issued in 1816; that consulted by Mr.

Crane "in 1822," so that "the present century" must be the 19th. Mr. Crane could not accept this, and so interpolated "1700" into the text. At least the printer so understood the copy, or the date would have been in brackets. I admit Mr. Crane had "*authority*" for his statement that flintlock guns were not used in Philip's War, and in his contempt for those who think otherwise he cuts off more than ten years of his leeway. Dr. Gregory says, "Flintlocks were first made use of in 1690." Mr. Crane draws the line at about 1700. He does not seem to give his "authority" full credit, but amends his statement. But let that go.

His next authority is "The People's Cyclopædia," which gives 1690 as the date when firelocks were introduced. But this "authority" also is garbled by the introduction of a date not in the original. I will here introduce the "Home Cyclopædia" to offset the People's, depended upon by Mr. Crane. Vol. IX, p. 2968, says: "The matchlock remained in use until the middle of the 17th century, when it was displaced by the flintlock, the earlier form of which, the 'snaphance,' seems to have been invented about the end of the 16th century in Germany." Then follows a description of this flintlock, tallying exactly with one which might have been in use sixty years ago.

The writer ventures on giving information on his own hook. He does "not dispute the statement that flints were ordered, as quoted by Mr. Sheldon, and may in some way at times have been used to discharge the guns of our troops previous to and during King Philip's War." How this "some way" was he does not declare, but we may fairly infer that it was the same way the Indians did, as described below by Mr. Crane.

"If the gentleman is familiar with the early customs of the Indians of our country, he must know they were in possession of that which, being placed in the flash-pan of

a gun, would fire the piece as soon as the flint and steel could be struck together. Eider-down, we are told, was used by them to catch the spark from the flint and steel." That is, if I understand him, the matchlock gun was loaded and primed; then in absence of the "burning match" or coal, some eider-down was placed in the flash-pan, and sparks from flint and steel were struck upon it to fire the piece. Well, how would this work in practice? The hunter of a deer or Indian sees his prey gliding among the trees across his field of vision. Having only two hands he promptly lays his gun on the ground, or on convenient bushes, takes from his pocket his flint and steel, opens the pan and strikes sparks upon the eider-down; then putting his musket to his shoulder waits until the fire has burned through the eider-down to the powder in the pan under it,—but then where is the game? Even if it did not smell the burning feathers, it would naturally have had business elsewhere long before the critical moment. It does not appear to me that the public needs any more new information of this quality. But still more is forthcoming: "I would say for the benefit of Mr. Sheldon and others that the Indians of that early time found another way," "to explode the matchlock" without a "burning brand." And this was the way. The gun loaded and primed as before, but with the "eider-down" or "other similar material" omitted from the pan; "a grooved stick was connected with the powder-pan, and by friction in rubbing in this groove the spark was quickly produced. A preparation of fir was sometimes used in connection with the powder to facilitate the end desired." These arrangements for setting powder on fire in the flash-pan are certainly unique.

In the latter method two persons would be absolutely necessary to discharge the piece. Did our informant ever raise fire by friction with two pieces of wood? Did he ever go hunting in the woods? Did he even ever fire a

flintlock gun? I trow not, or it seems to me such speculations as the above would never have been written.

In regard to the query respecting Elton's Manual I will answer, no; I did not expect anybody to "believe that all of this rigmarole was gone through in Indian fighting in Plymouth colony and throughout the Nipmuck country by the soldiers of that early time." On the contrary, I labored hard to show that it was impossible to use an arm requiring these manipulations, dwelling upon the impossibility of depending upon the use of live fire when life or death depended on the turn of the wrist or a second of time.

In quoting authors, for "Church" I shall refer to the edition carefully and tenderly edited by Samuel G. Drake in 1827. I have four editions of Hubbard, but will quote from that of 1814; for the Mathers, Increase and Cotton, Drake's quarto edition of 1862; for the Old London Narratives, Drake's "Old Indian Chronicles," 1867; for "Mrs. Rowlandson," the Lancaster edition of 1828.

The evidence of the use of the flintlock in Philip's War to be found in contemporaneous writings is generally circumstantial, but it is cumulative, and I think unanswerable. On the other hand, I can truly say that so far as I know nothing direct or indirect appears, to indicate the use of the matchlock in that war.

Mr. John C. Crane says: "If upon evidence brought out I am convinced of error, I shall most gladly retract." That's right; we all have to plead the human frailty act more or less. We must not forget the original seed of this controversy. "The History of the Nipmucks and their Country" has this: "Some *would-be writers of history* have stated that flintlock muskets were used in King Philip's War," while "the fact is, there was no such arm known at that time. Flintlocks first made their appearance about the year 1700." I see by his last output that the author is a trifle staggered by my arguments and evidence, but—

"A man convinced against his will,
Is of the same opinion still."

I judge our friend may be on this list, so I purpose to introduce more testimony, which will, I hope, make him a full convert to the belief that the "would-be" historians had been mindful of the advice of Col. Crockett, and that I am right in my contention that the flintlock was used in Philip's War. I quote a few items of the evidence, both straws and nuts. First of all I shall summon the idol of Mr. Crane, old Capt. Ben. Church himself, and follow with other witnesses corroborating his testimony.

In the summer of 1676, Capt. Church says that he made a visit to Awashonks, and after a deal of ceremony, "she presented him with a very fine firelock."* On one occasion when Church had discovered and "run in upon" a party of Indians in a swamp, early one morning, they "were so surprised that many of them stood still and let the English take their guns out of their hands, when they were both charged and cocked."† These guns must have been flintlocks, since there had been no possible opportunity to light fuses in order to fire matchlocks. On another occasion Capt. Church, while chasing an Indian, "presented his gun between his shoulders, but it missing fire, the Indian perceiving it [by the click of the lock] turned and presented at Capt. Church, missing fire also (their guns taking wet with the fog and dew of the morning)."‡ On another occasion, Church giving directions to Capt. Golding for an assault upon a party posted "upon a little spot of upland, that was in the south end of the miry swamp," directed him to be very careful in his approach to the Enemy," and "be sure not to show himself until by daylight * * * to creep with his company, on their bellies, until they came as near as they could;" and when discovered "to fire and fall on." It

*Church, p. 92. †Church, p. 114. ‡Church, p. 116.

seems there could be little use for burning fuses or firebrands here.* In the final scene when Philip fell, "the Englishman's gun missing fire, he bid the Indian [his companion] fire away."† Cotton Mather, referring to the same event, says "the Englishman's piece would not go off."‡ Another writer says his "gun went not off, only flashed in the pan."§ All substantially agree, and all remind us who have used this arm, how often these things happened, when we all "felt swear," if nothing worse, to see the startled game make off on hearing the click of the flint on the steel. Then we would act upon the old saw, "Pick your flint and try again."

In an encounter May 5, 1676, "divers of our men had probably been slain, but that it pleased God to send a Storm of Rain which did so wet the Indians' Guns, that they became unserviceable to them."‖ "Six Indians * * * meeting an Englishman would have shot him, but could not make the wetted Powder fire in the pan; which seldom failed at other Times; our English by their Garments and other Guards, for the Locks of their Muskets were better provided than the Indians, and so had the Advantage and put the Indians to a Rout and a Flight."¶ In this affair the Indians were also taken by surprise. They had not heard, as the Puritans had, the advice of Cromwell, to "put your trust in God, but mind you keep your powder dry."

The following incident, related to show the friendliness of an Indian, shows also something more—a method of keeping the powder dry or preventing its scattering from the pan. I myself have used a wad of tow for both purposes. I make a note of this as a possible clue to Mr. Crane's story of eider-down in the flash-pan. "An English Souldier in Company with our Indian Friends, making

*Church, p. 122. †Church, p. 123. ‡Church, p. 196.
§"Old Indian Chronicle," p. 291. ‖O. I. C., p. 256.
¶O. I. C., pp. 256-7.

haste to fire, had forgot to pull out the Wadd of Tow which was in the Pan of his Gun, which William Nahawton espying told him of, and wished him to take it out and fire."* In an engagement near Bridgewater, July 31, 1676, "they shot down ten Indians; they were well armed, and at first *snapped* their Guns at the English, but not one of them took fire."† The italics are mine. These guns must have been flintlocks, since "snapping" could not apply to many matchlocks, as may be seen in descriptions of the latter. The cock of the matchlock was called the serpent. It was S-shaped and pinned to one side of the breech of the barrel, swinging freely. The fuse was fastened to the upper end of the serpent and the lower end of it was used as a trigger; pressing this with the finger "brought the match accurately down to the powder-pan, the lid of which had been thrown forward by the hand * * * Rain extinguished the match, and wind dispersed the powder in the pan, so that the matchlock, clumsy withal, was but an uncertain apparatus."‡ Amen to that! In its latest days, there was a sort of spring attachment which guided the forked head of the serpent more accurately to the pan.

According to Gookin, John Hoar, of Concord, says, in January, 1675, that the Indians under his care are "daily threatened to be shott, and one was *snapt at* three times at my door."§ In the same history he gives an account of an exploit in connection with an expedition under Capt. Henchman near Worcester in 1676. Two Englishmen, and Thomas Quannapohit, an Indian, out on a side errand, came suddenly upon six Indian warriors six rods distant. Discovery being inevitable, one Indian gave a call as for

*O. I. C., pp. 274-5. †I. Mather, p. 186.

‡International Cyclopædia, Vol. IX, p. 112, N. Y., 1894.

§"Gookin's History of the Christian Indians" in Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, p. 531.

others to come up. "One of the enemy thereupon presented his gun at our Indian, but the gun missing fire," the rest of them ran away as fast as they could, "suspecting the English forces were at hand; and then Thomas with his two comrades having thus prudently scared away the enemy," rode back again "as fast as they could. And, indeed, there was good reason for it, because Thomas, the Indian, had only a pistol;" one of the others "had no gun ; the third *had a gun, but the flint was lost.*"* The enemy Indian could not have attempted to fire a matchlock in such an emergency, and the other side certainly had a flintlock.

Here is another nut from Gookin: Thomas Quannapohit was serving under Capt. Prentice in Plymouth county, in 1675. "They being at a stand and he sitting on his horse, set the butt end of a long gun he carried upon the ground, and held his hand upon the muzzle of the gun, which was charged; the weather being hot, and the horse disturbed by flies, pawed with his fore foot and turning the cock (which was *half bent*), the piece went off and tore his hand in pieces."†

Here another piece of evidence comes in pat. At the time of the assault on Medfield, Feb. 21, 1676, Capt. John Jacobs being at the house of Mr. Wilson after the Indians had fled, "having a gun in his hand *half bent*, with the muzzle upward towards the chamber, he being taking his leave, to be gone to his quarters, by some accident fired through" the floor and a bed above and killed the newly-made widow of Henry Adams. Matchlocks do not go off "half bent" or "half-cocked," as some call it. Flintlocks often play that trick. The gun-tinkers, I among them, have had many a job in filing the second notch in the tumbler on that lock to make the danger less. When Ephraim Curtis, who was twice sent on a peaceful errand by the Governor to the Nipmucks in July, 1675, made the

*Gookin, p. 479. †Gookin, p. 444.

report of his first trip, July 16, he detailed the difficulty he had in reaching the headquarters of Mattamuck, Konkawasco, and the other Nipmuck Sachems, who were on an island encompassed by a swamp, etc., with but one practical entrance. In attempting this, Curtis was met by about "40 Indians, some with guns upon their shoulders and others with their guns in their hands ready *cocked* and primed"; at another stage of progress they found "many Indians with their guns presented at us ready *cocked* and primed." The brave Curtis did not flinch, but pushed on, "They presently faced about and went to surround us, many of them with their guns *cocked* and primed, presented at us." If the guns in the hands of the Nipmucks had been matchlocks, as Mr. Crane would have it, Curtis would have told us they were "all ready primed with fuse lighted" instead of being "cocked." These guns must all have been flintlocks.

Gen. Gookin, describing the five Indians arrested at Cambridge, Sept. 5, 1665, says: "They had every one of them a *firelock gun*, a pistol, a helved hatchet, a long knife hanging about their necks, and every one had his pack or knapsack well furnished with powder and bullets and other necessaries." * I will close this series of extracts with one in which the story of a flintlock in service in Philip's war is plainly told by a soldier who took part in it. This is a story which many an old boy who has hunted with a firelock can understand and appreciate, from having done exactly the same thing—the writer for one. Jonathan Wells of Hatfield was in the Falls fight, where he was wounded. In the retreat he was separated from the command and wandered alone in the woods in a crippled condition, and "A^{t} sun an hour high at n^{t} being disturbed by y^{e} flies, he stopd y^{e} touch hole of his gun & struck fire * * * then made a fire of some wood y^{t} lay in his reach & lay down by it."

*Mass. Historical Society Collections, Vol. I, p. 164.

Mr. Wells was for many years the leading man in Deerfield, where he died in 1739. His narrative was "taken from his own mouth" by Rev. Stephen Williams, and may be found in the History of Deerfield, Vol. I, pp. 162-3. This was printed from the original manuscript of Mr. Williams. By the way, although Mr. Wells gives a minute and vivid account of the retreat, he says nothing of "Philip and 1000 men."

The next question of Mr. Crane is an "easy one," but it will take some space to make answer. "If flintlock guns were, as Mr. Sheldon says, 'in general use before 1660,' will he kindly tell us why the need of such an order as the following, six years after the close of Philip's War?" Quote fair Brother Crane—"I said in 'general use in *Massachusetts* before 1660.'" The next query shows that he was aware of this limitation, and so, he says, "Will he also inform us how it happened that the colonies were nearly a quarter of a century ahead of the mother country in the improvement in firearms?" Then follows "a regimental order given to the Royal Artillery Company, Sept. 5, 1682, which says: 'Those gentlemen, that day that handle muskets, are desired to take care that their arms are clean and well fixt, and that they bring with them fine, dry powder and even match.'" I know nothing of this order except what appears on the face of it, but it seems to me a few general observations on it will be in order as part of my reply to this *poser* of Mr. Crane. The occasion may have been to celebrate the return of the victorious Duke of York from Scotland, or to intimidate the followers of Shaftesbury on the inauguration of the newly-elected Tory Lord Mayor of London, after a long and angry contest in the summer of 1682.

Firstly. The occasion was evidently a special one for parade and show, and not for business.

Secondly. "Gentlemen," not regular soldiers, are to "handle the muskets that day." The arms of the latter

would naturally be in good order without special directions.

Thirdly. Matchlocks would make as good a show on parade as firelocks, and who knows but these "gentlemen" were to appear "that day" only, and carry cast-off arms?

Fourthly. The "Royal Artillery" would naturally be the most conservative regiment in the realm.

Fifthly. Charles II would never condescend to learn of the Puritan colonists, of whose needs, sufferings, or progress he took slight heed. They had been taught by dearly-bought experience, and now believed that the sword and shield of the Lord were with them, and—

> "So cheered, they fought alone;
> No aid nor treasure came from o'er the sea;
> Charles moved not on his throne,
> Pillowed on sloth and lapped in harlotry.
> What sorrow should he feel
> At tales of savage war across the foam,
> Before whose scourge of steel
> The friends of God and freedom quailed at home?"

In supporting the trend of these remarks I will quote a few authorities, for it has become a question of the *best* authorities. A standard writer,* after giving an account of the invention and spread of the flintlock, says: "For a long time the flintlock was regarded with disfavor [in England] as too complicated and likely to fail, and for nearly 100 years its use did not become general. It was adopted in France in 1630. *The English were behind* the Continental nations in portable firearms in the 16th and 17th centuries." As late as 1668, Elton's work before quoted was published in England, and "there is nothing in the book to indicate that its author had ever heard of the wheellock or flintlock." "France led in improvements," and even that cardinal fixture—bands to hold

*The American Cyclopædia, Vol. XII, p. 98.

the stock to the barrel,—"were not adopted in England until the present century" [about 1853]. We old boys were familiar with the "Queen's Arm" and the "Brown Bess" of English make, in which the stock was pinned to the barrel, but the old "French gun" with bands was not uncommon in the days of our youth. In 1795 the United States began making guns at Springfield, Mass., adopting the French model, and there was but slight change until 1842. As already seen, Spain as well as France adopted the flintlock for her armies in 1630; but conservative England held back. It had been long in use in Dutch land, and was carried to England by William III. However, it made up for its laggard beginning by its long-continued use. Flintlock guns were made for the English government as late as 1842, while fulminating powder for priming had been invented in 1807, and percussion caps were soon in private use. It was the *progressive* Englishmen, we must remember, who left their country for New England; and here new conditions confronted them, and their sharpest wits were forced into action. This is a general reply to the question, "How it happened that the colonies were nearly a quarter of a century ahead of the mother country in the improvement in firearms." No one will dispute that this condition still exists. It is known to all that in art, science, and particularly in invention, the Yankee is still many laps ahead of John Bull. There is an old story which, although it does not prove the above statement, will illustrate its meaning. It is too long for insertion; I can only give the nub of it.

A sea-captain who was a great braggart had rather wearied his fellows at a London club one night by his persistent assertion that the Yankees were the smartest fellows on the footstool, and that the Britishers were nowhere in the race. So a plan was laid to drink him drunk; then he was carried out to a thickly-settled church-

yard hard by, laid in the hollow between two mounds, and a watch set to report the results. After a while in the cold night air the captain's stupor in a measure wore off, and he struggled to a sitting posture; when he discovered the monuments all about him he realized where he was, took in the situation at once, and the watchers were rather surprised and set back to hear their victim break out: "Resurrection day, by gosh! And I am the first up! The Yankee ahead, as usual!"

Having thus indirectly backed the captain, I must now proceed to back myself by authorities on the early use of the flintlock by the Massachusetts colonists. Doubtless their supply came largely from New France, and in a lesser degree from the Dutch at Albany and New York, and still less from illicit English traders. As I have said the matchlock may have been continued as the nominal governmental arm until there was occasion for its practical use. Peace had continued from the Pequot War in 1637 to the outbreak in June, 1675. I have already described the change in arms which followed. How were the flintlocks obtained? In 1671 Philip had surrendered all his arms to the English as a pledge of his peaceful intentions. Under one pretence or another these guns had been declared forfeited; they were never returned, but were delivered "to the English in the Several Towns."* It was in reference to these events that a contemporary, under date of "Nov. 10, 1675," says of Philip: "And having now five Years Time had Opportunity enough to furnish themselves with Ammunition and Arms, which they did plentifully at Canada, amongst the French; and it is judged that some English have also Sold them some Arms through Ignorance of their Design. In the mean Time King Philip Mustered up about Five Hundred of his Men and Arms them Compleat: * * * * i. e., Guns, Powder, and Bullets."† When James, the Indian spy, was among

*O. I. C., p. 76. †O. I. C., p. 125-6.

the Nipmucks in December, 1675, they boasted freely of getting guns from Canada. A contemporaneous writer says, Philip and his men "are now become so well furnisht with Arms and Ammunition (by the base Treachery, we fear, of some of our Neighbors)" [i. e., the Dutch].* Wherever the Indians could obtain the Dutchman's and the Frenchman's firelock the colonists could also, although the natives got ahead at first. Gov. Bradford says, "The English were not furnished so well as they." This was long before Philip's War, while the matchlock still lingered.

From the "American Cyclopædia," a well-known authority, we quote: "In 1517 the wheel gunlock was invented at Nuremberg, and at this time the portable arm took the name of musket."† All writers agree that this wheellock was the direct ancestor of the flintlock. "In the 16th century the flintlock, as it exists at present, was also invented in Spain, and it was merely changed in details of construction, and by some subsidiary inventions until it was in general superseded by the lock for percussion."‡ "The matchlock remained in use till the middle of the 17th century, when it was displaced by the flintlock, the earliest form of which, the 'snaphance,' seems to have been invented about the end of the 16th century in Germany."§ Then follows a description of this arm in detail, which applies exactly to our common flintlock. "The firelock or flintlock, more common than the expensive wheellock, was produced in Spain about 1625, as a cheap substitute for the wheellock;" and an exact description of our flintlock is given in this connection. "The early firelock was clumsy, simple, and inefficient; it is said to have been produced by marauders, to whom the burning [match] was dangerous, as betraying their presence." I have before shown that it was this

*O. I. C., p. 210. †P. 97. ‡P. 98.

§The Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XL, 9th Edition.

very reason why matchlocks could not have been used in fighting Indians. The arm made its way slowly, like all new inventions, but "improvement in the latter half of the 17th century caused its more general adoption. It was common in the Netherlands, and was introduced into the English army in the reign of William III, and continued in use until 1842."*

Mr. Crane says: "Church's History of King Philip's War was written by Thomas Church, son of the old Indian fighter, and under the latter's direction, two years before his [the father's] death * * * Hubbard and Church's histories contain a record of the Indian wars of New England from 1607 * * * * to 1703-4. They are the foundation of all other histories of that time, and are accepted as truthful records by students of our early history."

First as to Church. He was born in 1639; his narrative begins with Philip's War, and we have no concern with his later expeditions. He was in at the beginning of this war, and emphatically so at its close, and the narrative of the events in which he took part must be generally accepted, although there is frequent disagreement between him and Hubbard, the second truthful source of information given by Mr. Crane. Fortunately, there is other testimony in the case, of which I shall speak later. Captain Church covers the time from June 24th to the close of the campaign in Plymouth county some time in the latter half of July, 1675. At that point he says: "The remainder of the summer was improved in providing for the forts and forces there maintained; while our enemies were fled some hundreds of miles into the country, near as far as Albany."† And this is all he has to say about the events in the Connecticut valley this year; simply that Philip crossed it on his way to the Hudson. And in the whole volume what he says

*Chambers' Encyclopædia, Vol. IV, p. 638. †Church, p. 53.

about the Nipmuck troubles is comprised in *nine lines*, and but one circumstance there referred to is correctly stated.* Church next takes up the Narragansett War, about Dec. 1. He was wounded in the Great Swamp fight, Dec. 19. "In about three months' time," he says, "he was in some good measure recovered of his wounds and the fever that attended them; and then went over to the General to take his leave of him with a design to return home."† But the General "persuaded him to accompany him in a long march into the Nipmuck Country, though he had then tents in his wounds, and so lame as not able to mount his horse without two men's assistance."‡ His, Church's, story has been thought rather apocryphal, and is too long to copy. The gist of it is, "In this march, the first thing" he notes is coming in sight of an Indian town with an icy swamp between, where there was a skirmish—so far six lines. He then goes on to tell of a fearful running fight and final death struggle with one of the enemy—a blood-curdling tale—this takes seventy-three lines. He concludes—"Proceeding in this march, they had the success of killing many of the enemy; until at length their provisions failing, they returned home"—three lines. In a foot-note to this narrative, the editor, Mr. Drake, the best living authority on our Indian wars, and an admirer of Church, remarks: "I cannot find as any other historian has taken notice of this expedition of the Commander-in-Chief. It appears from what is above stated that it was in March, 1676."§ This and nothing more. It is, indeed, strange that such an expedition by Gen. Winslow should have been so overlooked, when Mather wrote of events occurring in that region March 20th and 26th. There is nothing in the Plymouth Council of War Records referring to this expedition, but under date of March 8, it appears that preparations were being made to send out soldiers

*Church, p. 69. †Church, p. 64.
‡Church, p. 65. §Church, p. 65.

under Capt. Michael Peirse. This man and his company were all killed the 26th.* Other writers speak of a similar expedition early in February, when, as Church says, he was laid up with his wounds in Rhode Island. Was Church dreaming or romancing? His faithful editor, Drake, says of Church: "His indefinite mode of writing may, in part, be accounted for by the consideration that it is given after nearly forty years, mostly from recollection."†

I do not note these things to belittle the old hero, to whom belongs the glory of ending the war, but to show that he must not be quoted as authority in all the events of Philip's War. The extract from Church, quoted by our critic to prove the presence of Philip at the Turner's Falls battle, and that I was wrong in saying he was not there, is this: Philip's "next kennelling place was at the falls of the Connecticut river, where, some time after Capt. Turner found him, came upon him by night, killed him, a great many men, and frightened many more into the river, that were hurled down the falls and drowned. Philip got over the river, and on the back side of the Wetuset [Wachusett] hills met with all the remnants of the Narragansett and Nipmuck Indians that were there gathered together, and became very numerous, and made their descent on Sudbury and the adjacent parts of the country." To fix the date more surely, as there was more than one attack on Sudbury, I continue the sentence—"where they met with and swallowed up valiant Capt. Wardsworth and his company."‡ According to Hubbard§ the attack on Sudbury and the destruction of Wardsworth's company was April 18th, 1676. The Turner's Falls affair was May 19th. Does Mr. Crane, on the authority of Church, still "believe the report of his [Philip's] being in the Turner's Falls battle to be true?"

As to the testimony of Hubbard "in a note on page 158,"‖

*I. Mather, p. 127. †Church, p. 94. ‡Church, p. 69.
§P. 184. ‖P. 198 of my edition.

I take it this note was by some editor, and not by the author. But I will speak of the same story as told by Mather.* He says "there was at last somewhat a tragical issue of this expedition. For an English Captive Lad who was found in the wigwams, spake as if *Philip* were coming with a thousand *Indians;* which *false report* being famed *(forma bella stant)* among the souldiers, a pannick terror fell upon many of them." Did Mr. Crane ever stop to think how the "English Captive Lad," in the midst of the confusion of the terrible massacre in the dim dawning light, could by any possibility get the news that "Philip was approaching with a thousand men !" But there is no need. Mather in the same breath declares it a "*false report*," and so the evidence of Philip's presence falls. The fact of its falseness also appears where Mather continues—"In the meanwhile a party of Indians from an island (whose coming on shore might have been easily prevented * * *) assaulted our men; yea, to the great dishonor of the English, a *few Indians* pursued our souldiers four or five miles, who were in number near twice as many as the Enemy."† Where were Philip and his thousand men!

In "A True Account of the Most Remarkable Occurrences, &c.," written within three months after the affair, we read, "There was a Noise spread among some of them of Sachem Philip's coming down upon them with a thousand men, which not being weighed as it might have been by the English, whether it was true or false; a Fear possessed some Part of the English."§ I do not find any other contemporary writer in any way connecting Philip with the Falls fight. There can be no doubt that the lad told the yarn, and that a panic followed. But there is one thing more to be considered. In response to my surprise at his omitting in "The History of the Nipmucks and their Country" the events of 1676, "a hundred-fold

*P. 147. †P. 148. ‡O. I. C., p. 261.

more vital to the Nipmucks than the events of any other year in their known history," the writer explains that he "felt unable to add anything new to what had already been said" by "Hubbard and Church." This is modest, and the plea is accepted. But with his new source of information it is a pity that this should be true. In respect to the Connecticut Valley Indians he has information to give which I venture to say was before entirely unknown to any other historical writer. To prove his contention that Philip was in the Falls fight, May 19, 1676, the writer caps his testimony thus: "Tradition handed down to later descendants of the Indians in that region, confirms the report of his being in the locality." In this information, Mr. Crane, in the newspaper parlance, has truly a "scoop"—no other has the news.

The facts heretofore known to "would-be historians" in this matter run somewhat like this. The Indians engaged in the fight at Turner's Falls were Pocumtucks, Narragansetts, a few Nipmucks, and a small sprinkling of Abenakiss. In a short time after, this combination broke up. The Narragansetts went homeward, the Pocumtucks fled to Scatakook; some of the Nipmucks went with them, others to the eastward, still others to Canada, but none remained in the valley of the Connecticut. It is not new history that sixty years later the descendants of the Pocumtucks claimed land along the upper waters of the Pocumtuck, now the Deerfield river, and that the descendants of the Nipmucks claimed land lying about the head waters of Swift river. But note that all these claimants were then residents of Scatakook on the Hudson. Those who lived in "that region" (Turner's Falls), and their "later descendants" through whom came the "tradition," are now heard from for the first time. It would be a great favor to be told more particulars, about the place, time, numbers, and other traditions. But as the locality of Philip at a certain time is only a side issue, I shall not

press for this information. The "evidence" of Philip's presence at the Falls fight is all in a nut-shell. It springs from the story of the captive lad, and the solution of the whole matter is the same as the answer to a certain conundrum—"The little cuss lied."

I now repeat my statement that "nearly six weeks before the Turner's Falls fight, Philip had left the Connecticut valley never to return," since a re-examination of the facts confirms it. "Speaking of" the Connecticut valley reminds me that my critic says I am taking trouble to "confine the Connecticut valley to a very limited area." As to that whole matter I simply say, the limits are purely a question of interpretation and not of fact. It can be no question of this controversy, and it has no bearing on the question at issue.

The only definite account we have of the whereabouts of Philip in the spring of 1676 is by Mrs. Mary Rowlandson. She first speaks of him March 9th; the next day she visited him in his wigwam on the west side of the Connecticut, near or at Northfield. She continued near him, and at his request made garments for his young children, and one day she dined with him.* April 10, she writes, "Now must we pack up and be gone from this thicket, bending our course toward the bay-towns."† She continues giving the story of their daily life and hardships on the journey. April 20 (?) she records "going along, having indeed my life, but little spirit. Philip (who was in the company) came up and took me by the hand, and said, 'Two weeks more and you shall be mistress again.' I asked him if he spoke true. He said, 'Yes, and quickly you shall come to your master again,' who had been gone from us three weeks; after many weary steps we came to Wachusett, where he was."‡ Mrs. Rowlandson was slave to Quanapin, and Weetamoo Philip's sister-in-law, and

*Mrs. Rowlandson's Narrative, pp. 27–31.

†Mrs. R.'s N., p. 46. ‡Mrs. R.'s N., p. 53.

she lived in the court circle, where she often met Philip. The negotiations for the redemption of English captives had been for some weeks in progress, and May 2d Mrs. Rowlandson was delivered to John Hoar at "Redemption Rock."

Hoar and Mrs. Rowlandson arrived in Boston May 3, carrying a letter from the Indians to Gov. Leverett. Mrs. Rowlandson says: "The week following after my coming in, the governor and council sent to the Indians again." The messenger was Seth Perry, a tailor, of Boston. Tom Dublet, an Indian, was his guide. Perry carried a long letter in reply to that of the Indians of May 2. It was directed to "Philip, John, Sam, &c., Sachems about Wachusetts;" the contents related to the exchange or ransom of the captives. Perry returned May 12, and reported that he had made arrangements for a meeting with the sachems May 18. Peter Gardner and Jonathan Prescott were sent as envoys to this meeting, with a letter dated May 15. It was directed to "The Sachems," no one named. No account of this meeting has been found. Probably while the treaty was in progress, news was received of the disaster at Turner's Falls, and confusion reigned supreme.

I see no reason for doubting that Philip was at this conference, and Gookin apparently confirms this view. It was in reference to these meetings that he, Gen. Gookin, writes, "This contest about the treaty caused them to fall out and divide. Philip and most of the Narragansett Indians separated from the inland Indians, and went down into their own country, and the inland Indians staid about Wachuset mountains."* The exact date of this breakup is not known. Philip is next heard of in the latter part of June, when he is found back in his old haunts in Plymouth county, where Church kept good track of him. This long story is the best reply I can make to the

*Gookin, 508.

question of Mr. Crane, "Where was Philip at this time?" Not so definite as I could wish, but can anybody give one more definite?

As before said, matters of the kind we are discussing must, of necessity, be a question of authorities. I will make a few remarks on the contemporary writers on Philip's War. Mr. Crane says: "Hubbard and Church's histories contain a record of the Indian wars of New England from 1607 to * * * 1703-4. They are the foundation of all other histories of that time, and are accepted as truthful records by students of our early history." This is a pretty broad statement. I cannot think the writer means what he says, "*The foundation of all other histories of that time.*" Surely he would not exclude such men as Bradford, Young, Winthrop, Morton, Wood, and the score of others who wrote upon the "history of that time" before either Hubbard or Church was out of his primer. I think he intended reference to writers on Indian warfare, and it really looks as if he had in mind when he wrote only the period covered by Philip's War, so I will give him credit for such a limitation. I own this amendment to be a very delicate matter in view of my "humiliation," to be spoken of later. This matter involves an inquiry into the bibliography of Philip's War, and it will be shown to be rather larger than it appears to our critic. "Hubbard and Church" alone will not fill the bill. I will name some other contemporary writers. I grant that Hubbard's History published in 1677 is a standard source of information. Enough has been said to classify Church. Why does Brother Crane cast out Increase Mather, whose "Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England from June 24, 1675, to August 12, 1676," was published in 1676, coming out even before that of Hubbard, and republished in London December 2, 1676—why? Or this, by the same author, "A relation of the Troubles which have hapned

in New England, By reason of the Indians there, from the Year 1614 to the Year 1675."—Boston, 1677. Or this, by Cotton Mather, "The Troubles which the Churches in New England have undergone in the Wars, which the People of that Country have had with the Indian Salvages." The author was born in 1662. I do not recall the date of this book. Why not give credit to "The Present State of New England with Respect to the Indian War," covering the time from June 20 to November 10, 1675?—London, December 13, 1675. Or this, "A Continuation of the State of New England; Being a farther Account of the Indian War * * * to the 8th of February, 1675-6."—London, March 27, 1676. Or a "New and Further Narrative," &c., "from March till August, 1676."—London, October 13, 1676. These narratives were written in Boston by "N. S.," who is not identified. Another narrative is "A true Account of the Most Considerable Occurences that have happened in the Warre between the English and the Indians in New-England" from May 5 to August 4, 1676.—London, October 11, 1676. Another is "The War in New-England Visibly Ended."—London, November 4, 1677, by "R. H.," probably Richard Hutchinson. Another, "News From New-England," &c.—London, August 1, 1676. Another, "A Farther Brief and True Narration of the Late Wars risen in New-England."—London, February 17, 1675-6. Or the Narrative of John Easton, 1675-6. Some other contemporary writers are John Russell, Solomon Stoddard, John Leverett, John Pynchon, Daniel Henchman, Samuel Moseley, Thomas Wheeler, John Allyn, Samuel Appleton, John Cotton, John Winthrop, John Stebbins, Jonathan Wells, Roger Williams, Edmund Andros, Thomas Savage, Hope Atherton, Benjamin Newbury, Thomas Prince, Thomas Mayhew, Edward Rawson, James Cudworth, James Quannapohit, Edward Palmer, Josiah Winslow, Nathaniel Thomas, Benjamin

Thomas, John Freeman, James Fitch, Noah Newman, Roger Wolcott, Waitstill Winthrop, John Callender, and Ephraim Curtis. No one wishing to follow the progress of Philip's War can safely neglect a careful study of the General Court and Council Records of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Plymouth, the Records of the Connecticut Council of War, the Records of the United Colonies, the Correspondence of Governor Andros, the Documentary History of New York for the years 1675-6. These are what I recall at this time. Doubtless one better versed in the history of the war would greatly enlarge this list of authors and witnesses.

I now quote two sentences from "Fuse or Flintlock—Which?" that, more than any other, moved me to make reply. "It seems to me that if Mr. Sheldon had read with more care Church's account of the movements of Philip previous to the Turner's Falls affray, he might have saved himself the trouble of writing the labored letter of June 19th last, in which he seeks to confine the Connecticut valley to a very limited area. He might have saved himself also the *humiliation* of *at last finding out* that I had read history better than he thought." Be it remembered that my only offence in criticising the historical research of our author is this: "I fear Mr. Crane has not made so close a study of general colonial history as he has of Nipmuck localities." This followed my remarks giving him credit for great acumen in the latter, and referred solely to the question of firearms.

Now, First. I do not relish being accused of slack investigation.

Second. I certainly do not discover in reading his last paper such remarkable erudition on the part of the author in the bibliography of Philip's War or in general history as to cause the expected *humiliation*. Of course I judge the quality and extent of my critic's historical research only by what appears in his two papers upon

which my judgment is challenged. I have no other guide. It certainly does not appear from these that the field in which he had "read history" was so broad as the Amazon or so deep as the sea. In the last essay, which was to crush my pride, we see evidence of his having read Church, whom he uses for both hammer and armor; Hubbard; Gregory's "Dictionary of Arts and Sciences;" "The People's Cyclopædia;" "Pliny;" the "Illustrated London News for July 8, 1899;" "John W. Barber's Massachusetts Historical Collection." I say again, bear in mind that I am talking by the book and no otherwise. He declares that "Hubbard and Church's histories are the foundation of all other histories of that time" (i. e., the Indian wars of New England). He accuses himself as being ignorant of all others of that long list of writers who wrote during Philip's War, or within a year after its close, about most of whom we may say: "All of which they saw, and part of which they were." Strictly speaking, Thomas Church has no place here, but is put in this list as the mouth-piece of the heroic captain, his father. The same remarks apply to Captain Jonathan Wells.

There remains, however, that mysterious source of information about the eider-down tinder, and the new matter about Philip at Turner's Falls. He does not name any book, but says it is a "*tradition handed down to later descendants of the Indians in that region.*" How does he get this family tradition? Can it be at first hand? And whence his intimate knowledge of the haunts of the Nipmucks!

As to my own range of reading, I feel called upon in self-defence to say I have not only read Church with "care," but with a few minor exceptions every page, every sentence, and every line of all those contemporary writers in the list given above. Many of them I have read over and over a dozen or more times, for instance, "Church's History of Philip's War." It can be no mat-

ter of boasting that I have done what every "would-be historian" must do whose works on any given subject are worth the reading.

The case is now made up, and I am willing to submit it to any jury of "twelve good men and true," of which Mr. Crane shall be one. I have brought into court eight indisputable flintlock guns: one given by Awashonk to the redoubtable Captain Church; one fired by the horse of Quannapohit in the discharge of which his hand was shattered; one carried by the young doctor who lost the flint; and the five guns carried by the Cambridge suspects, and it will be safe to add their five pistols also. I have no reason to doubt that the court will admit also those which went off "half bent," those that "missed fire" by trick of the flint or dampness of the priming; all those that were "cocked," and all those that were "snapped." And unless there prove to be "eleven obstinate cusses that you can't make hear to reason" on the panel, they will agree on a verdict that flintlocks were in general use during Philip's War.

A general discussion of the subject followed, Mr. Dickinson, the Librarian, exhibiting a gun belonging to the Society which had apparently been made over from a matchlock to a flintlock.

The President called attention to the invitation extended the Society to visit Lexington, and remarked that quite likely when the time came the entire trip from Worcester to that town might be accomplished in electric cars.

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THIS NUMBER CONTAINS: Recollections of School Street in the Thirties and Early Forties of 1800. Recollections of Market Street Sixty and More Years Ago. Memorial to Rev. George Faber Clark. Memorial to Rufus Alexander Grider.

PROCEEDINGS

... OF ...

The Worcester Society of Antiquity,

WORCESTER, MASS.

1900. MARCH and APRIL. No. 3.

Winslow & Co.,
Bankers.
342 Main Street,
Worcester, Mass.

street. This was occupied by Mr. Harvey Sturtevant, a blacksmith by trade, and who may be remembered as a musician, and as playing the bass-viol in the Central Church choir. Back of this, with front towards the street, was another dwelling-house of wood, very similar to the one just described, where Mr. Alexander G. Vottier, the owner of both houses, lived. This was reached by a small passageway. Mr. Vottier was a confectioner, and had a candy and cake-shop on Main street. Mrs. Vottier excelled in cake and fancy cooking, and was liberally patronized by the people of the town. Both died long ago, but the eccentricities of Mr. Vottier are remembered and commented upon to this day. He was a soldier in the French army, and served under Napoleon at Waterloo. There was one son, Alexander, but I do not know what became of him.

The next building was on the corner of what is now Union street (then Middle street). It was a large, square house of wood, white in color, owned and occupied by Levi Howe. Mr. Howe was a blacksmith and had a shop on old Market street. He had one son, Daniel, who learned his father's trade; I do not know what became of him. There were also four daughters—the eldest, Eliza, married a Mr. Stearns; Eunice married Mr. S. N. Story, the well-known jeweler and watch-maker; the third one, Harriet, married Mr. George S. Howe. at that time and for several years after conductor on the Boston & Worcester Railroad. Afterwards he was a partner in the firm of G. S. & A. J. Howe, dealers in manufacturers' supplies. Mr. and Mrs. Howe's deaths occurred not long since, within a short time of each other. Frances married Mr. Wheeler, a preacher.

On the east side of Union (or Middle) street was a long tenement house of wood, two stories high, fronting on School street. There were five or six families living in this block. Zebedee Maple lived in one tenement; he was a Canadian Frenchman, and hostler for Mr. William A. Wheeler.

The other families I cannot recall, but I think they were mostly workmen in Mr. Wheeler's foundry on Thomas street and Henry Goulding & Co.'s machine-shop opposite. Mill brook here crossed School street covered with planking on a level with the street. Beyond the bridge was a blacksmith-shop of wood, one story high, in which the forging was done for the machine-shops on the opposite side of the street. Adjoining this was a long shed, in which lumber and iron were housed. From this shed to Summer street was unoccupied land, on which were several apple-trees.

Crossing to the south side the first building there was situated on the corner of Summer and School streets, but facing on Summer street. It was a narrow two-story house quite old, and sometime had been painted red, but which the work of time and weather had rendered almost colorless. This was the residence of a Mr. Smith. I do not remember any particulars about him. He had one son, Ezekiel, with whom I went to school. West of this residence, for about two hundred feet, was the garden and orchard of Mr. Smith. Then came an open shed facing west, with end on School street. This was of wood, about one hundred feet long, and in which lumber was stored, with large yard room extending to Mill brook. On the rear part of this yard was a large upright building of wood used as a carpenter's shop by Mr. William Maynard.

The next building was the machine-shop of Goulding & Co., facing on School and Union streets, with entrance on School street. It was two stories high, built of brick, surmounted with wood. Woolen machinery was manufactured here. The power used was obtained from a water-wheel run by the water of Mill brook. Then came Union, or Middle street. On the west side of this was a large stage-barn of wood, owned by Simeon Burt, where the horses and coaches that carried the mail were kept. As

the mail had to go through on time, a better class of horses was used than on the regular passenger and freight coaches. I remember one team in particular composed of six coal-black horses, driven by a man named James Dunn, but called "Jim" for short. He took great pride in the grooming of his horses, and their hair shone like glass when hitched up for a trip. He also taught them many tricks. The whip he used had a stick about a foot long, with a silk snapper attached about the same length. One day a man came to the stable to let himself as an experienced driver; he bragged of what he could do until the other drivers were disgusted with him, and determined to take him down a peg, so a wager was made that he could not drive Jim's team the length of Main street without being run away with, Jim to sit beside him on the box and see him drive. The drive commenced, Jim carelessly snapping his little whip and softly humming a low tune, apparently indifferent to all that was going on. The speed of the animals increased until they were in a run. The driver pulled on the reins to hold them up. The harder he pulled the faster they went; he could not control or hold them, and begged Jim for God's sake to stop those horses. Jim simply laid down his whip, ceased his humming, slacked the reins down, called "whoa, babies," two or three times, when they instantly slowed down to a walk. The drivers won their bet, and the braggart looked elsewhere for a job. The stage-barn, together with the machine-shop of Mr. Goulding & Co., and the long dwelling-house on the opposite side of the street, were destroyed by fire August 22, 1838. The stage-barn, belonging to Simeon Burt, was never rebuilt. The machine-shop was rebuilt with brick on the same site, and is standing to-day with many additions and improvements. The dwelling-house was rebuilt with brick and remained as a tenement block until a few years ago, when it was taken down and a large factory was built on

the site for the National Manufacturing Wire Goods Co.

About fifty feet west of the stage-barn was a large two-story building of wood connected by a platform with other buildings in the rear.

This was the coach, omnibus and wagon manufactory of Mr. Osgood Bradley, who did an extensive business and was well known and patronized by the proprietors of stage lines throughout the state. In 1839 he sold out the business to Moses T. Breck, Leonard H. Poole and Hiram Brown.

Afterwards Mr. Bradley formed a partnership with Mr. Edward B. Rice, and established the first and only railroad car building plant in Worcester at the old brewery on Grafton street. The business increased so rapidly that the company decided to seek larger quarters, and consequently removed to near Washington square, where, since Mr. Bradley's decease, the business is still carried on by his sons. Mr. Rice did not remain very long in the firm, finally going to California, where he died.

The partnership of Breck, Poole & Brown dissolved in about a year, Mr. Brown retiring. Mr. Poole remained a while longer in the firm, but Mr. Breck finally assumed control and carried on the coach and omnibus manufacturing business until his death in 1862. Mr. Breck was noted for the excellent finish and thoroughness of his work, and business never was dull with him. I was associated with Mr. Breck in the painting department from 1840 to 1862, when I entered the service of the United States in the Civil War. His death occurred during my absence, but I have never forgotten the kind words he said to me at parting, when we both hoped to meet again. Mr. Breck had one son, Osgood Bradley Breck, who was a clerk in Kinnicutt's hardware store. He died suddenly a few years after his father's decease. There were also three daughters—Jane, Josephine and Abbie.

The next building west was of brick, a double dwelling-house, two stories high. In the east half Mr. Hiram Brown lived; Mr. Brown went to Cincinnati, where he died. In the west part lived Mr. Samuel Congdon, who owned the livery stable on the opposite side of the street, noted on our way down. Near this, on line of the street, was a long two-tenement house of wood, two stories high, in the east part of which lived a Mr. Packard, who was a foreman in the employ of Mr. William A. Wheeler in his foundry. Mr. Packard had two sons and one daughter; the son, William, I remember very well; the names of the other son and daughter I do not recall. The west part of this house was occupied by Mr. Enoch Earle, who was a machine wood-worker employed for many years by Henry Goulding & Co. on cards and jacks.

It was several rods to the next building, which was of wood, two stories high and painted white, owned by and the shop of Mr. John Sutton, a noted copper pump-maker and dealer in lead pipe.

Next to this, on a line with the street, was the residence of Mr. Sutton. It was a large two-story building of brick, in which he lived for many years, and where he died. Mr. Sutton was one of the old-style gentlemen and much respected by all who knew him. He had two sons—George, who succeeded to his father's business, and Walter, a banker; one daughter (Rebecca) married John Q. Hill, a druggist. I have a vague impression that there was another daughter, Mary by name, but am not certain about it.

Just west of Mr. Sutton's house was a passage-way that led to a dwelling-house in the rear, situated about midway between School and Thomas streets, built of wood, and occupied by several families. One tenant was a Mr. Cloyes, a boot and shoe repairer. The others I have forgotten.

On the west side of this passage-way, and fronting on

School street, was a large two-story double dwelling-house, built of brick. In the east half lived Mr. Alexander Wilder, at this time register of deeds. He had one son, Harvey B., who succeeded to the office (so acceptably filled by his father) after his death, and which he still holds, a compliment alike to father and son.

The west half of this house was occupied by Mr. James Green, an apothecary, with a store on Main street between Central and Thomas, and opposite the old centre school-house. He was a brother of Dr. John Green. Mr. James Green had three sons: John, James and Samuel, the latter librarian of the Public Library, of which his distinguished uncle, Dr. John Green, was the founder, and which has a world-wide reputation for the efficiency of its management, and the scholarly attainments of the nephew in charge. There was also one daughter in the family named Elizabeth.

Next came a cottage house, one and one-half stories high, painted white. This was the residence of Mr. Leonard H. Poole, a carriage blacksmith, and previously noted on our way up the street. At this time there were three sons in the family: Leonard, John and Horace, and three daughters, Mary, Ethel and Fanny.

Next, and almost joining this cottage, was a large brick block, two stories high, extending to Main street, owned by Frederick William Paine. The rear part of this block, with entrance from School street, and the whole of the second story, which fronted both Main and School streets, was occupied by Mr. Jonathan Wood. Mrs. Wood taught a private school here for many years. She was also librarian for the Lyceum Society, the library being located in the second story, fronting Main street. Mrs. Wood was sister to my father. She taught previously in a room in a building that stood on the site of the block recently vacated by the State Mutual Life Insurance Company, now 240 Main

street, then numberless. It was there, under Mrs. Wood's teaching, that my school life began. Among the pupils at that time were Jimmy Brazier, Seth Slater, son of Captain Peter Slater, who helped throw the tea overboard in Boston harbor; William Merrick and Marshall Flagg. The three last named are dead. Jimmy Brazier went West, and I have had no knowledge of him since.

On the Main street corner of this block, in the first story, a West India goods and grocery store was kept by Mr. A. Bailies, as the sign read. This building was owned by Frederick Wm. Paine, Esq., and is still standing, with but little alteration in appearance, one story being added to the front; and although the business has changed hands several times, it has never lost its identity as a grocery store, and at this date is managed by Mr. Edwin A. Putnam. The property is still in possession of the Paine heirs.

Here ends our story of School street in the olden time. Some parts of the street remain unchanged, but the greater portion has, like most of the other old Worcester streets, been so changed and improved that the old landmarks are nearly obliterated, and but few people are living who resided or did business on the street at the time of which this paper treats, sixty years ago.

RECOLLECTIONS OF OLD MARKET STREET SIXTY AND MORE YEARS AGO.

By F. G. Stiles, 1899.

When or by whom this most northerly street, connecting Main with Summer, was opened, I have no knowledge, but passing through it many times in the thirties and early forties of the present century (19th), I became familiar with the street and its environments, and although but sparsely inhabited at that time, and with but comparatively little bus-

iness carried on there, as a link in the chain binding the past to the present, it holds a charm for me, and I trust will not be devoid of interest to you.

As has been my custom in previous papers, I will begin my recollections of old Market street from the Main street section.

The first building on the north corner of Main and old Market streets was the Exchange Coffee House, kept by Samuel B. Thomas. It was a large three-storied structure of wood, painted a drab color, and fronting on Main street, with two styles of architecture, indicating that the north portion had been added to the original design. The building retains its identity to the present day, with the exception of a piazza on the front side, not so many years ago removed.

A sign resting on brackets, suspended over the sidewalk in front of the house on Main street, read: Samuel B. Thomas, Exchange Coffee House. This sign was painted by Theophilus B. Weston, and represented a stage-coach and six horses being driven at a rapid pace. In the background the State Lunatic Hospital was prominently pictured. After Mr. Thomas gave up the house a Mr. Waite, a relative of the Sykes family by marriage, became the landlord, and the sign was altered and read, "Temperance Exchange." Later the house was kept by Samuel Banister, and later still Russell Lamb became owner and changed the name to Exchange Hotel, by which name it is now known.

In rear of this were the yard and stable-barn belonging to the hotel. The barn was a very large one, of wood, and standing on a line of the street for more than one hundred feet.

East of this barn, and also on the street line, was a tight board fence extending to Mill brook, a distance, as I remember, of four or five hundred feet. Back of this fence

was cultivated ground. A group of large trees bordered the brook, and over this brook was a wooden bridge.

Next beyond the brook was a very long building of wood, called the Tan-Yard House. It was two stories high and white in color. There were a number of tenements in this block. One of the tenants was a Mr. Blake, an old man known as Daddie Blake, very lame and of a somewhat crabbed disposition. Mr. Henry Holland, a machinist by trade, occupied one tenement. He had three sons: George, Charles and Henry, and three daughters: Sarah, Jane and Ellen. The Widow Patterson also lived here; she had three sons: George, Albert and William. The two latter learned the tailor's trade of their uncle, Asa Walker. Another tenant was Mr. John Patch, a journeyman tailor by trade. There were four sons in that family: Albert, Leander, John and George, and one daughter, Mary.

The Widow Edwards occupied one tenement. She had three sons: John, William and Frederick, and two daughters, Hannah and Mary by name. Hannah married a Mr. Barnes, and Mary married Cephas Willard, a machinist. Mr. Clark Wilson also lived there; he had two sons: Henry C. and Horace, and one daughter, who died young.

The next building was on the corner of old Market and Summer streets, the last house on that side of the street. It was a long brick block, two stories high, fronting on Summer street. The Market street end corner tenement was occupied by a Mr. Barrows, who was quite old and very lame; he had one son, Augustus, and one daughter, whose name I do not recall. (This part of my recollections has been verified by Mr. Henry C. Willson, who lived on the street, in the old Tan-Yard House, at the time of which I write, and who says he remembers distinctly the facts as I have written them, and endorses them as correct.)

On the opposite or south side of Market and Summer streets, a little way back from each street, was a narrow

dwelling of wood, two stories high, owned and occupied by Mr. Anson Johnson, a stage proprietor mentioned in Central street paper. He had four sons: George, Samuel, Charles and Henry; also two daughters, Sarah and Nancy.

A short distance west of this was a small two-story dwelling-house of wood, occupied by Mr. Charles B. Pratt, who at this time was a moulder in the foundry of Mr. William A. Wheeler. Afterwards he became an expert diver, and for years was interested in securing the treasure sunk with the British ship Huzzar in New York harbor. He was mayor of Worcester in 1877-79. Mr. Pratt was a man of genial temperament, with a fund of jokes always ready to fit any and all occasions, and very proud of his record as a self-made man.

Just beyond Mr. Pratt's residence ran Mill brook, on the other side of which was a small barn or stable of wood. Then there was vacant land to what is now Union street.

A little later Mr. Fitzroy Willard built the cottage dwelling-house, one and one-half stories high, which now stands on the corner of Union and old Market streets. This was the end of Union, or Middle, street at that time. A few rods from the west side of Union street, and fronting on old Market, was the blacksmith-shop of Levi Howe (mentioned in School street paper). On the west side of this shop, and a little in the rear, was a large stable barn in which a Mr. Howard kept a livery stable. From this point a tight board fence extended about two hundred feet to a one-story cottage house of wood. It was quite old, and had been painted red in its day. It seemed to stand in the middle of the street as viewed from Main street. Mr. Henry Earle lived here. He was a noted stair-builder, and a valuable citizen to the town. He had three sons: Clark, Henry and Anthony; also one daughter. Clark followed the business of his father.

The last house on the street at that time is still standing

on its original site, corner of Market and Main streets, fronting on Main—a large, square, old-fashioned building, two stories in height, painted white.

This was the residence of Mr. Osgood Bradley, noted in the School street paper as a carriage and railroad car-builder. Mr. Bradley at that time had four sons: Henry, John, Osgood and Sanger; also three daughters: Maria, Sarah and Elizabeth. Maria married General John B. Wyman, who was killed in action in the War of the Rebellion. He was general of a Western brigade. Sarah married Chester Cummings; Elizabeth married George Hamilton, who was a partner with E. F. Dixey, dealers in West India goods and groceries in a store on Main street opposite Elm. This store at a still earlier date was occupied by Stiles & Butman. They kept a regular country store, dealing in everything from a penny whistle to a German flute, as well as the necessaries of life. Mr. John W. Stiles was father to the late Mrs. A. D. Foster of this city. He was of a musical turn, and in later years spent much of his leisure time playing on a violin, or fiddle, as it was generally called in those days. I have in my possession a music book he used containing the popular melodies of the day, and published in 1803.

With this paper end my recollections and review of all the streets that crossed the town from Main street to Summer street in my boyhood days, Foster street, the only other avenue leading to Summer (uniting with Mechanic at Bridge street, thence to Summer), not being constructed until years after the Boston & Worcester railroad was completed and the Union Depot built.

If when, as a boy, I traveled the streets of Worcester town, I had been told that in after years it would be my mission to "map" them out to another generation, from memory, and I had taken precautions to keep them fresh in mind, that I might be enabled to do so with some degree

of accuracy, the old buildings that graced those streets, with their occupants, and the various branches of business carried on therein, would scarcely seem less familiar to me than if, instead of the long stretch of years that lie between, it was but as yesterday.

It may be when so many more years have been marked on the calendar of time the streets of to-day will have undergone as great a transformation as have those of which I write, but it is not my province to forecast the future of Worcester. My mission is of the past. Longfellow has told us to—

> "Trust no future, howe'er pleasant;
> Let the dead past bury its dead.
> Act! act in the living present,
> Christ within and God o'erhead."

But, in acting in the living present to fulfill my purpose I must revive the past, and must bring to memory the buried dead of those bygone years. But I do so only in the same spirit of kindness and respect I trust may be vouchsafed to me if, in after years, I am yet remembered in the roll-call of to-day.

President Crane read the following memorial of the late Rev. George Faber Clark of West Acton, Mass.:

MEMORIAL TO REV. GEORGE FABER CLARK.

About three miles westerly of the present village of Richmond, in the wilds of lower Canada, at a place then known as Shepton, but which has since lost its identity, George Faber Clark was born on February 24, 1817. His father, Jonas Clark, by trade a clothier, broken in health, had sold his fulling-mill in Dublin, N. H., and with Mary Twitchell,

his wife, and their eleven children (seven sons and four daughters) had found their way into Canada with the object of settling where land could be secured almost for the taking.

Jonas Clark, born June 3, 1775, was son of William and Sarah (Lock) Clark of Townsend, Mass., and grandson of William and Eunice (Taylor) Clark of Concord and Townsend, this state.

Jonas Clark carried on the business of a clothier in Dublin, N. H., having built the first clothier-shop and fulling-mill in the place; they were located in that part of the town now known as Harrisville. He was a man passionately fond of reading, and passed much time with his books, perhaps somewhat to the neglect or injury to the profits of his trade, for as a business man he was not particularly successful and continued throughout his life in indigent circumstances.

After a residence of a few years in Canada, enduring untold hardships almost to the point of suffering, the family, in the year 1819, returned to Dublin with two additions to their number, leaving the family with the comfortable size of sixteen souls.

George Faber Clark's mother was daughter of Abel and Sarah (Adams) Twitchell of Dublin, N. H. His childhood and boyhood days were surrounded by difficulties and privations of no common significance. But with a purpose to conquer all obstacles in the way, he resolved to secure an education, for he had inherited from his father the love of books. He could not look for parental assistance in his undertaking, for from bitter experience he knew what a Herculean task it was for a father and mother in those days to feed and clothe fourteen children, with only bare hands, willing hearts, and the co-operation of kind Providence.

Following the pathway of many another ambitious boy, he obtained work during vacations, plying his time on the

farm, in the mill or teaching school, until failing health reminded him of over-work, and forced him, much against his desire, to relinquish the long-cherished hope of entering college. His education was obtained at the academy in Jaffrey, also in Keene, supplemented by a graduating course at Phillips Academy, Exeter. In the year 1843 he entered the Divinity School at Cambridge, Mass., graduating from there July 17, 1846. The following year Mr. Clark preached in Charlemont, and in April, 1848, was settled in the town of Warwick, where he remained four years. In 1852 he was called to Norton; after preaching there nine years he removed to the town of Stow, where he was settled as pastor for about seven years. In 1871 he was settled in Mendon, where he labored as pastor of the principal parish in the town for twelve years. From here Mr. Clark removed to Hubbardston, there continuing his pastoral duties up to the year 1890, when the infirmities of age and failing health obliged his retirement from the constant care of a parish, and locating in the town of West Acton built a home, where he passed the remaining years of his life, not in idleness, but with his books, now and then occupying the pulpit by invitation, and writing on historical as well as popular subjects of the day. Some of his papers he was kind enough to read before this Society. He died in Boston July 31, 1899, at the Massachusetts General Hospital, whither he had been taken two days previous at the suggestion of his family physician, who felt that heroic treatment might be required to obtain the relief necessary to prolong his life.

Thus terminated the life of Rev. George Faber Clark, born in indigent circumstances, the eighth son and twelfth child of a family of fourteen children, who educated himself for the ministry, and for more than forty-three years preached the word of God within the confines of this Commonwealth. He was an exceedingly temperate man in all

his habits of life; a strong anti-slavery advocate from his early connection with that cause; also an untiring worker for the cause of temperance, and thirty-four years an active member in the organization known as the Good Templars, having held the highest office in the state in that order. He was passionately fond of the study of antiquarian subjects. Besides having a membership in this Society, he belonged to the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, and the Old Colony Historical Society.

While a resident of Norton he wrote the history of that town. In 1880 he wrote and published a history of the temperance reform in Massachusetts from 1813 to 1883. Much of his writings was published in newspapers and magazines. He married, April 1, 1847, Harriet Emery, a native of Jaffrey, N. H., born Dec. 28, 1817, daughter of Daniel and Polly (Felt) Emery, who survives him.

348th Meeting.

Tuesday evening, April 3, 1900.

Owing to sickness in his family President Crane was absent, and Mr. Lyman A. Ely was chosen President pro tem.

Others present were: Messrs. Abbot, J. H. Bancroft, G. L. Clark, Cole, Dickinson, Davidson, Darling, G. L. Esty, C. G. Harrington, Gould, M. A. Maynard, Seagrave, C. E. Staples, George Tolman, T. J. Hastings, Mrs. J. H. Bancroft, Mrs. Boland, Mrs. G. L. Clark, Miss Moore, Miss L. F. Sawyer, Miss Southwick, Miss Hastings.

The Librarian reported additions for the past month 12 bound volumes, 19 pamphlets, 17 papers,

and 26 miscellaneous articles. Special mention was made of a copper spear-head, presented by Mr. John C. Crane of West Millbury, a rare specimen, found on the shore of Singletary lake.

The Standing Committee on Nominations presented as candidate for active membership the name of Charles A. King, and he was elected.

Mr. George Tolman of Concord, Mass., was then introduced and read an exceedingly interesting paper entitled "Preliminaries of the Concord Fight," and on motion of Mr. Seagrave a unanimous vote of thanks was extended the essayist.

Mr. Dickinson then read the following memorial to Prof. Rufus Alexander Grider:

RUFUS ALEXANDER GRIDER.

By Thos. A. Dickinson.

Some members of this Society, and others, will remember Mr. Grider when he was in Worcester a few years ago, and recall his interest displayed in Revolutionary history, and especially historic powder-horns.

I am sensible of my inability to adequately express even what I have observed of him during the few years of our acquaintance since 1891. He died in Canajoharie, N. Y., Wednesday, Feb. 7, 1900, in his eighty-fourth year.

As an artist and teacher of drawing he made a special study of historical powder-horns, and made careful copies in water-colors of many of those used in the French War, Revolutionary War, as well as other engraved horns. His collection numbered something over 500, a part of which were in the Smithsonian exhibit at the Columbian Exhibition in 1893.

Mr. Grider's vacations for several years were spent in different parts of the country collecting and making pictures of these horns.

One season, while in Boston and vicinity, he visited Lexington, Concord, Salem, and other historic towns in search of these valuable relics, going sometimes fifty miles for one of them. In 1891 and 1893 he passed several days in Worcester, copying historical horns in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, the Worcester Society of Antiquity, as well as many owned by private individuals.

While here he heard of a very interesting Revolutionary horn in Barre, and immediately started for that town. Calling on the parties who owned it he was allowed to see it, but not to copy it, the owner claiming that it was entirely a family affair. This was the only time he was refused the privilege of copying a horn.

We have in the museum five historical horn pictures, the gift of Mr. Grider in 1893. Like all of Mr. Grider's horn pictures, they contain drawings and historical matter relating to the owner and his time.

The five referred to are the John Dearborn horn, Louisburg, 1746; the Josiah Hubbard French War horn; the John Benton, Roxbury, 1775; the Gen. John Stark; and the Israel Putnam horn, the latter bearing the following inscription:

> "When Bows & Weighty Spears were uſd in Fight
> twere nervous Limbs Decla'd a man of might
> But now Gunpowder ſcorns such strength to own
> And Heroes not by Limbs, but ſouls are ſhown."
>
> CAPT. ISRAEL PUTNAM.

Mr. Grider was made a corresponding member of this Society in 1891, and has contributed to the Society much valuable colonial and Revolutionary history. In 1894 he loaned to the Society some 80 powder-horn pictures, which were exhibited in the museum for several weeks.

Mr. Grider has left a valuable collection of these horn pictures. Many of them contain historical and geographical data. Those horns are not all confined to the United States. There are some from Canada, South America, and a few from other countries.

I cannot close this sketch with a more fitting tribute to Mr. Grider than quoting, in part, from the Canajoharie Courier of Feb. 13:

Mr. Grider had not been ill and was about the streets on Tuesday; he had announced an illustrated lecture for Wednesday evening at the Red Men's room on "The Religion of the Iroquois Indians," to which the public was cordially invited. As a local historian and archaeologist he was very prominent, and with his death three of the best known Indian relic curators in New York state have died within three months, the other two being A. G. Richmond and Dewitt Diefendorf, the latter of Fort Hunter. Fort Rensselaer in its preserved and interesting condition, stocked with curios of the Revolutionary period, is a result of his personal and indefatigable efforts. People from afar journeyed to Canajoharie especially to visit the old fort, and nothing afforded Mr. Grider greater pleasure than to accompany them and explain the instructive history written on the walls and in the ossified specimens therein contained. The benefactor of Fort Rensselaer is dead, but its preservation should be continued as a memorial to the grand old man of Canajoharie, and in the future to be known as the Grider Museum. Mr. Grider's collection of antiquities is valued at several thousand dollars.

Mr. Grider came to Canajoharie in 1883 and became a teacher of drawing in the schools of this village; he also had a studio in the building that stood on the same lot with the old academy, the present site of the high school. He often appeared before educational societies and delivered lectures, besides contributing numerous articles to magazines, newspapers and other periodicals. Material gathered by him was largely used in the valuable volume published some time ago by the state, under the title of "New York in the Revolution." In 1898 he gave up active teaching, and since then has busied himself in historical research.

He lived in a handsomely appointed home on Cliff street with his daughter, Mrs. James Sammons. He has been a man of unusual activity and endurance, and his illness of last winter was the first for many years.

The deceased was born in Lititz, Pa., April 13, 1817, his ancestors coming from Switzerland. His father took a lively interest in the political affairs of the country. He voted with the Federalists, and a noted man of that party was Hon. Rufus King, then a United States senator from New York. King declined a seat in Gen. Washington's Cabinet, but afterward became minister to England under Washington's administration. Admiration for that statesman caused his father to name him Rufus.

Mr. Grider was educated and graduated from Beck's School for Boys in his native town in Pennsylvania, and was a man of numerous intellectual attainments. His talents were put to good advantage, and even at the ripe old age of more than four-score years he was busily engaged in solving the mystifying questions arising from early colonial history. He married Miss Elizabeth Skirving of Germantown, Pa., Oct. 20th, 1864, who died March 12th, 1875.

But few children there are in our village who did not know and love Prof. Grider and delight in the attention he paid them. But few, if any, there are of the older ones who did not admire and esteem this fine old gentleman—one whose character was above reproach and disposition beyond censure. Each year he broadened his acquaintance, and the Mohawk valley as well as Canajoharie mourns the loss of a valued resident. He was a confirmed member of the Moravian church of Bethlehem, Pa., and unostentatiously lived his religion. Mr. Grider's death was quite sudden, probably due to heart failure caused by overexertion, and the end was a peaceful transition from mortal to immortal life. All speak well of him, and his good name will long be cherished.

also a Worcester Directory for last year (1863), which contains a map of the city.

Should many years pass away before, if ever, this paper and what accompanies it be found, the finder is requested to offer it for publication in one of the newspapers of the city.

GEORGE JAQUES,
Son of the above-named Abiel Jaques.

$2.00 Per Year. *Single Numbers, 25 cents.*

THIS NUMBER CONTAINS: Memorial of W. S. B. Hopkins. Memorial of John C. Otis. Old Lincoln Street, by Mrs. E. O. P. Sturgis. A Story of Three Old Houses, by Mrs. E. O. P. Sturgis. The Merrifield Fire of 1854, by James H. Bancroft. Causes of the War in South Africa, by James Green, Esq.

PROCEEDINGS

... OF ...

The Worcester Society of Antiquity,

WORCESTER, MASS.

1900. MAY and JUNE. No. 4.

Winslow & Co.,
Bankers.
342 Main Street,
Worcester, Mass.

also a Worcester Directory for last year (1863), which contains a map of the city.

Should many years pass away before, if ever, this paper and what accompanies it be found, the finder is requested to offer it for publication in one of the newspapers of the city.

GEORGE JAQUES,
Son of the above-named Abiel Jaques.

349th Meeting.

Tuesday evening, May 1st, 1900.

Met in Salisbury Hall, President Crane in the chair. Others present: Messrs. Arnold, C. C. Baldwin, W. F. Cole, Dickinson, Davidson, Darling, J. L. Estey, F. P. Goulding, Gould, Major Harlow, Prof. Haynes, C. G. Harrington, G. Maynard, Stiles, Saxe, Williamson, Mrs. Barrett, Mrs. Bancroft, Mrs. Darling, Mrs. R. B. Fowler, Mrs. W. T. Forbes, Miss McFarland, Mrs. Hildreth, Mrs. McCloud, Miss Moore, Miss Lucy Sawyer, Mrs. Williamson, Miss Waite and fifteen visitors.

Records of last meeting were read and approved.

The Librarian reported additions for the past month: 67 bound volumes, 224 pamphlets, 301 papers and 13 miscellaneous articles.

Mr. Dickinson called attention to the valuable collection of negatives, principally of historic places and old land-marks, presented by Mr. Henry M. Wheeler, and a portrait of the late Mr. Theodore Brown, presented by Mrs. Brown.

Mr. Henry Corbin Fuller, student at the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, was then introduced, and read an interesting sketch of the old Blackstone canal, following which remarks were made by Prof. Haynes, Mr. Estey, Major Stiles and F. P. Goulding, Esq.

President Crane then read the following memorials, as reported by the Committee on Membership Biography:

WILLIAM SWINTON BENNET HOPKINS,

senior member of the firm of Hopkins, Smith & Hopkins of this city, died of pneumonia at Pinehurst, North Carolina, on Sunday, Jan. 14, 1900. Colonel Hopkins was taken ill and obliged to give up practice, being confined to his home most of the time for about two months. When sufficiently recovered to admit of traveling, on the advice of his physician, he went South in the hope that in the milder climate there, and with rest from his practice, he might regain his health.

Colonel Hopkins was born in Charleston, South Carolina, May 2, 1836. His father was Erastus Hopkins, who was born in Hadley, and passed nearly all his life and died in Northampton, Massachusetts. Prominent members of the Worcester County Bar are unanimous in the assertion that Colonel Hopkins was a leader in the profession, and without a peer in the state. He combined all branches of the profession to a remarkable degree, and was equally successful in civil or criminal cases. He took an active interest in national and state politics, and had been urged on several occasions to enter the field for Congressional honors, and at the time of President Garfield's election he was offered a place in the Cabinet, but declined the honor. Colonel Hopkins and President Garfield were college mates at Williams College.

Colonel Hopkins was educated mostly in private classical schools and at Williams College, where he was graduated in the class of 1855. This class contained many young men who have since distinguished themselves in the affairs of the state and nation.

The legal profession being his choice, he studied law in the office of Hon. William Allen at Northampton, and at the Harvard Law School, and was admitted to the bar in January, 1858. He first opened an office in Ware, Mass., in August of the same year, where he practiced his profession

until the outbreak of the Civil War, in which he enlisted on October 9, 1861, and served as captain of the 31st Mass. Regt. until December, 1862, when he was promoted and mustered lieutenant colonel. He was in many hotly contested battles, and was stationed at Baton Rouge until December, 1863, and then under orders converted his regiment into cavalry, and in 1864 took part in the Red River campaign, after which he resigned and was honorably discharged.

Colonel Hopkins became a member of The Worcester Society of Antiquity September 7th, 1897.

He was married January 20, 1859, to Miss Elizabeth Sarah, daughter of Dr. Addison Peck of Easthampton, Massachusetts; they had four children: Sarah Bennet; Erastus; Elizabeth Peck, wife of Alfred Lawrence Aiken of Boston, and William S. B. Hopkins of this city.

BENJAMIN J. DODGE,
ELLA L. T. BALDWIN,
HENRY F. STEDMAN,

Committee on Membership Biography.

JOHN CARTER OTIS.

John C. Otis, president and treasurer of the Union Water Meter Company of this city, died at his home on William street on Sunday morning, March 11, 1900. He had been in feeble health for several years, but was able to be at his place of business until the day previous to his death. His final illness was of only a few hours' duration.

Mr. Otis was born in Worcester on March 12, 1825, and with the exception of four years spent in the West had been a resident in this city all his life. He was the son of

Benjamin B. Otis, who was for many years an extensive boot and shoe manufacturer and dealer in Worcester. He was educated in the public schools and at the age of fifteen entered the employ of Samuel B. Scott, who was a well-known shoe dealer, living with the family, where he remained for about five years; afterwards was connected with the business of his father. He went to St. Louis in 1844, where he was employed as a clerk for a time, and later was in the commission business. He returned to Worcester in 1848, and entered into partnership with his father, which continued about two years, at the end of which time he formed a business connection with Charles B. Fitch, under the firm name of Fitch & Otis, for the manufacture of boots and shoes. In 1861 Mr. Otis was employed for a time in the office of the city treasurer, and the following year entered the Quinsigamond Bank as teller, and served during the absence of the cashier as assistant cashier. After serving in this capacity for more than seven years he retired to devote himself to the duties of treasurer of the Union Water Meter Company, to which office he had been elected in 1868, when the company was formed by his brother-in-law, the late Hon. Phinehas Ball, and Abraham and Benaiah Fitts. On the death of Mr. Ball in 1894, he was elected president of the company and held the position to the time of his death.

On April 18, 1848, he married Mary E. Kettell, who died Feb. 2, 1894. They had three children: John P. K. and Mary E., who both reside in Worcester, and James F., who died March 8, 1894. Mr. Otis is survived by three brothers and two sisters: B. F. Otis, city auditor of Newton; Harrison G. Otis, deputy state assessor; Edwin A. Otis of Chicago; Mrs. Mary J. Ball of Worcester, and Ellen L. Otis, assistant librarian at the Free Public Library.

Mr. Otis was a member of the Worcester County Mechanics Association, of which he had been vice-president

and trustee, and became a member of The Worcester Society of Antiquity December 1, 1885.

BENJAMIN J. DODGE,
ELLA L. T. BALDWIN,
HENRY F. STEDMAN,

Committee on Membership Biography.

350th Meeting.

Tuesday evening, June 5th, 1900.

Met in Salisbury Hall.

President Crane in the chair.

Others present: Messrs. Arnold, W. H. Bartlett, J. H. Bancroft, C. A. Chase, Dayton, Dickinson, Davidson, Darling, Ely, J. L. Estey, Forehand, W. T. Forbes, Gould, C. G. Harrington, Daniel Kent, G. Maynard, Paine, G. M. Rice, Saxe, Salisbury, Seagrave, Stiles, C. E. Staples, Williamson, Mrs. Barrett, Mrs. A. G. Bullock, Mrs. J. H. Bancroft, Mrs. E. M. Barton, Mrs. C. C. Baldwin, Mrs. Chenoweth, Miss Cogswell, Mrs. Darling, Miss Dewey, Mrs. W. T. Forbes, Mrs. Daniel Kent, Mrs. Waldo Lincoln, Miss McFarland, Miss Moore, Miss May, Mrs. McCloud, Mrs. N. Paine, Miss Reed, Mrs. H. B. Staples, Miss L. Sawyer, Mrs. C. E. Staples, Mrs. Williamson, Miss M. A. Waite, W. A. Williams, E. M. Barton, Miss Boland, Miss Barrett, Mrs. Stiles, and four strangers.

The Librarian reported additions for the past month: 188 bound volumes, 324 pamphlets, 181 papers, and 13 miscellaneous articles, and called attention to the ball and chain presented to the Society by Capt. Geo. W. Prouty of the 51st Regiment in War of the Rebellion.

The President, referring to theannual excursion, spoke of the cordial invitation extended the Society by Rev. Carlton A. Staples at the 25th anniversary banquet, and on motion of Mr. Seagrave, it was voted to accept the invitation, and the following committee was appointed to make the necessary arrangements for the trip to Lexington:

E. B. Crane,
M. A. Maynard,
Geo. M. Rice,
Daniel Seagrave.

The President then read a communication from Miss Susan Trumbull extending an invitation to the Society to attend the relaying of the original door-sill at the entrance of the reconstructed Worcester County Court House, originally built in 1751, and since known as the Trumbull mansion, and the rededication of the court-room itself. The invitation was accepted, and the matter of marking the spot was referred to the Committee for Marking Historic Spots.

Hon. Stephen Salisbury was then introduced and read the following, written by Mrs. E. O. P. Sturgis (daughter of the late F. W. Paine):

OLD LINCOLN STREET.

By-gone Days in Worcester.

Mrs. E. O. P. Sturgis.

"Once more to Time's old grave-yard I return
And scrape the moss from memory's pictured urn."
—O. W. Holmes.

Nothing indicates in a greater degree the lapse of time than the transformation of the rural road in a small village, with only a foot-path on the side, when it becomes merged into a broad thoroughfare, with the brick sidewalks of a large city,—changes which come so gradually that those who pass every day do not realize them until the old landmarks are all gone and the people who once lived in the street are passed away, and no one is left to keep in remembrance the manners and customs and names of the old days.

Some fifty or sixty years since, I knew Lincoln street well, and perhaps some of your readers may be interested to know how it looked in those days and who dwelt therein. Starting from the old Paine house, with which you are all familiar, and where lived the late F. W. Paine and his wife and six children, we pass down the hill, going south, having on our right a low stone wall, enclosing an orchard of apple and pear trees, which in their season of flowers, coupled with large bushes of cinnamon roses inside the wall, presented a lovely spectacle to the eye. We soon come to a small brick house, in which lived the Rev. John Abbott, a minister of the Central Church, and later a family by the name of Ruggles. From here we soon come to the old "Lincoln Mansion," after passing a pasture in which was an ancient barn, surrounded by locust trees, and in this house lived the late Senator John Davis, with his wife, who was Miss Eliza Bancroft, the eldest daughter of the

Rev. Aaron Bancroft, the first minister of the "Second Parish," with his five sons. The house, formerly the home of the Hon. Levi Lincoln, father of the late Governor Lincoln, was a large square wooden building, painted white, standing a short distance back from the road, with a pathway leading up to the front door, on each side of which was a grass plot enclosed by a wooden fence, inside of which was a hedge of syringa or mock orange, the fragrance of which filled the air when it was in bloom.

On the southwest corner another house joined the "Lincoln Mansion," the home of Mr. John Hammond, the farmer of the estate, and of his wife and a large family of boys and girls. The great sunny kitchen of the farm-house was a favorite resort of the children in the neighborhood, especially if Mrs. Hammond was engaged in any culinary occupation in which they were interested, knowing full well from former experience that they would all receive from her kind hands some of the fruits of her labors. A pathway also led up from the street to this house, and the usual farm buildings were in the background. Passing by a green field enclosed by a stone wall, we come to a wooden house painted a dark yellow, in which dwelt Mr. Isaac Goodwin (who, I think, held some appointment in the "Court House"), with his wife and six children. Both Mr. and Mrs. Goodwin came from "Plymouth Colony," and were descendants of "the Pilgrims." She was an agreeable cultivated woman and better educated than most ladies of her day, and withal quite a florist, for the small room leading from the south parlor was in winter filled with greenhouse plants and flowers.

This house stood back from the street, with a wooden fence in front, the pathway to the front door being lined with beds of flowers, and a broad piazza surrounded it. The two oldest daughters married —one a German, the other a Portuguese,—and both left the country, while the youngest,

Miss Jane Goodwin, recently deceased, married a gentleman by the name of Austin, and was the author of those interesting stories wherein the lives of the Pilgrims in "Plymouth Colony" are so well delineated. The next house to the Goodwins was occupied by Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Swan and two children, but at a later date by Dr. Oliver Blood, at this time a prominent, if not the only, dentist in the town, with Mrs. Blood, who was Miss Dolly Blake, the daughter of the late Francis Blake, an eminent lawyer in his day, and their seven children. One of the sons became a lieutenant commander in the navy, and with a younger brother died some years since. Dr. Blood died many years ago, but Mrs. Blood, who removed from Worcester a few years after her husband's death, is still living, at an advanced age, as are three of her four daughters.

Passing by a meadow we now come to a small brick house, in which lived a family by the name of "Keith." He was a jeweler in the town, and had a shop on Main street. His only child, a son, was known on the street by the name of "Tim Keith."

Farther along came two semi-detached houses, built of brick, with the entrance doors on the ends, and in the southern one Miss Sarah Ward, daughter of Artemas Ward, at one time taught a school for young children. Near here we come to an old-time house, no doubt handsome in its day, it being built before the "Revolution," and at that time occupied by that stanch old Tory, Judge Timothy Paine, with his wife, who was a Miss Chandler, one of the seven stars, as they were called, and a large family of children, the eldest of whom was "Dr. Billy Paine" as he was styled, a young man more of a Royalist than his father, if possible, and who, on account of his political opinions, was obliged to leave his native village, his townspeople threatening to hang him if he ever set foot in it again. It was in this house that the famous dinner party took place

of which we read in the "History of the Loyalists," given at a period when a very antagonistic feeling was growing up between "Massachusetts Colony" and the mother country, and to which John Adams, who at that time taught the public school in Worcester, was invited, a man utterly opposed to his host in his political opinions.

At the close of the repast, Judge Paine gave, as was the custom of the day, the toast of "The King," which Mr. Adams refused to respond to. "Come, Mr. Adams," said one of the guests, "this is a private dinner party, so don't make trouble, for you can give any toast you please when your turn comes to do so." When Mr. Adams was called upon, he gave, "The Devil," much to the consternation of the gentlemen assembled, they not caring to drink to the health of his satanic majesty. Mrs. Paine, however, was equal to the occasion, and, rising from the table, she said, "Gentlemen, Mr. Adams has drank to our master, so don't let us refuse to drink to his," and she, too, gave "The Devil."

The last house we come to was occupied by Mr. Edward Lamb and family, a gentleman who later disappeared while traveling in Europe and who, I believe, was never again heard of. At one time Mr. Harrison Bliss lived in this house.

On nearing "Lincoln Square" we pass a green field, sloping down to "Salisbury's Brook," which divided it from the well-kept grounds of the "Salisbury Mansion," on the top of which, near the street, were some old cellars, showing that at an earlier date some small houses had stood there. At the point where the street merged into the square was a small shop, painted a dark yellow, but I can't recall what it was used for.[1] "Salisbury's Brook" was not, as its name would indicate, a small stream meandering along "at its own sweet will," but was at this point quite a

[1] Stephen Salisbury's first store, 1767.—Editor.

broad sheet of water, running under the square, and for some distance up into the town, and when full was quite an ornament in the landscape. Sometimes the Baptist ministers would bring their converts here on Sunday noons in winter and dip them in the icy waters of this their "River Jordan," much to the edification of people of other denominations going home from meeting, who would lean over the iron railing to witness this amazing spectacle.

Crossing Lincoln square we come to the "County Jail," a large stone building, almost on the corner of Summer street, but which was taken down many years since. On the opposite corner, as Summer street merged into the square, we see the "Hall of the American Antiquarian Society," where Mr. Christopher Baldwin, or, as his friends called him, "Kit Baldwin," an amusing, entertaining man, presided over its treasures.

We will now retrace our steps and, turning to the left, cross the road leading to "Mill Stone Hill" and come to a house with an old-time barn on its right, both looking down the square, a house which formerly belonged to one of the Chandler family, but now a tavern of not much repute, frequented by teamsters and very humble wayfarers. At a later date this house was styled "The Nashua Hotel." We are now in Lincoln street again, and, going north, we first come to a weather-beaten looking house of wood, painted white originally, with its end to the street and its entrance door on the south side. Here dwelt the Misses Polly and Betsey Whitney, the latter the domestic one of the family, while Miss Polly, on the contrary, when occasion offered, went out to work to make and repair carpets, make over mattresses, and do other kindred pieces of work then almost universally done in private houses. At home in her lower front room, she had a quilting frame, where she quilted patchwork and other quilts, petticoats, and any other articles which offered. Miss Polly was quite a char-

acter in her way, and not at all what we call in these days a "new woman," but believed in people walking in well-trodden paths, and that there should be no mixing of the "classes and masses" so called in modern times. The next house is a wooden one, painted white, and sets some ways back from the road, inhabited by Mr. Artemas Ward, with his wife and daughters, two of whom, Mrs. Melatiah Green and Mrs. William Bickford, have recently passed away. It was from this house that Mr. Joseph Burnett, later the founder of St. Mark's School at Southboro, got his first start in life.

A little farther on and we come to a long, white, wooden house set up on the hillside, one story in front, with a long, sloping roof, but two stories on the ends, in front of which and quite down on the edge of the roadside stood three fine large elm trees, which were quite an ornament to the street. One day the late William Lincoln, a younger brother of the late Governor of that name, a gentleman who was much interested in the growth of trees in his native town, saw as he was passing up the street the owner of these three trees preparing, axe in hand, to cut one of them down. He crossed the road and, taking a pistol from his pocket, said in the slow and measured tones which some people may recall, "If—you—cut—that—tree—down—I—will—shoot—you." It may be needless to say that the trees stood in all their beauty for many years after this little episode.

From this place there were no buildings, nothing but green fields, until we come opposite the old "Lincoln Mansion," and here stood an old, yellow barn in a field, and near it some trees of "Early Sweetings," much beloved and often appropriated by the children in the vicinity.

Where the entrance to Catharine street now is was an old-time farm gate, and from here a grassy cart-path led over the hill. Almost in front of "The Oaks," as the old Paine place was called, was a narrow strip of land separat-

ing the Paine and Lincoln estates, which extended back over the hill, and in front of which down near the road was a picturesque old brown wooden house, two stories on one side, with a sloping roof reaching nearly to the ground on the other. Here lived an aged woman by the name of "Noah," or "Aunt Noah," as she was usually called. She was a quaint looking old body as she appeared, walking about in the neighborhood, leaning on her cane, making calls in the different kitchens of her friends in the morning, for at that time she was sure to find the mistress of the house, as was the custom of the day, engaged in some domestic occupation, and ready to converse with her.

She was of a very dark and swarthy complexion, with piercing black eyes and gray hair, over which she wore a white cap, with a black band on it, for she was never seen with a bonnet and probably did not own one. Her dress consisted of a stuff petticoat, quite short in front, as well as behind, outside of which was a skirt turned up in front and fastened in the back, while over her shoulders was pinned a small shawl. She was fond of the children of her friends, and when she met any of them would say, "You love me a bushel to-day, don't you, dear?" gave them the run of her house, and when the fruit was ripe allowed them to gather as much as they liked from the two fine old mulberry trees near her barn.

In summer she managed very well for herself, but in winter the "hired men" of her neighbors looked after her, making a path for her after a snowstorm, seeing every night and morning that she had plenty of wood and water, and doing all they could for her comfort.

One very cold morning she was found in her arm-chair by the cold hearth-stone quite dead, evidently never having been in bed the previous night. It was said at the time that she would have been much pleased if she could have seen her funeral, for not only all the gentlemen of the neighbor-

hood followed her to her grave, but all the gentlemen of the "Lincoln family;" even some members who lived elsewhere were there, they probably having known her when they were boys in the street. I believe her history was never known, or who she was, or where she came from, for she had always been in this old house so long as any one could remember. After a time, however, I think some one turned up who claimed her small estate.

Where Lincoln street proper ended and the county road began I cannot say, but there were families who lived in the northern part of it who were so often on it, coming and going, that they seemed a part of it, and I recall among them the Barnards and Bigelows, well-to-do prosperous farmers, who had intermarried, and the family of "Squire Green," as he was styled, who lived on a farm with his family at the upper end of "Green's Lane." In the winter he used to come down the hill, and a steep hill it was in those days, in his great double sleigh, with his own children on their way to school, and pick up, as he went along, all the children in the road who were on the lookout and waiting for his coming, the girls being packed inside, while the boys hung on the sleigh outside wherever they could, and as he came to Main street he let them off at the points nearest their destination.

A few years later than the time of which I have written, important changes had taken place in Lincoln street, some of which I will mention: The old "Lincoln Mansion" had disappeared, and on its site a large and handsome house had been erected, probably at that period the finest in the town, owned and occupied by the late William A. Wheeler. All the old barns and outbuildings connected with the estate were things of the past, as were the picturesque, mossy old stone walls, and the syringa hedge, now only fragrant with pleasant memories. Opposite the house a new street had been made, and houses were going up on it, and even

a sidewalk was begun, for heretofore on the eastern side of the road there had been no pretence of one, not even a foot-path, while a little brook ran merrily along at times in front of the green fields. On the western side of the road there was only the common country sidewalk, bordered with grass, and almost impassable at times on account of the mud, and this only extended as far as the Paine place.

The stage from Boston, which used to pass up and down the street, late in the afternoon and early in the morning, picking up passengers, leaving parcels from the city, and taking them to it, had now ceased to run, for this mode of traveling had come to a close, and with all these changes the street was fast losing its former rural aspect.

Between the southern corner of what is now Catharine street and the next street below it, the name of which I cannot recall, had been built three large wooden houses, considered, no doubt, handsome ones in those days, placed far back from the street in their own spacious grounds. In the first one lived the late B. F. Thomas, one of the most eminent lawyers in Worcester county, and later one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, with his wife, who was a daughter of Dr. John Park, and a family of children.

In the middle one dwelt the late Governor Davis, whom we have seen formerly in the "Lincoln Mansion." Here one met many people of note, and among them I recall seeing N. P. Willis, "the poet;" Hon. Wm. H. Seward, President Lincoln's Secretary of State; Dickens, the English "novelist," who made a brief stay there during his first visit to this country, and George Bancroft, "the historian," for by this title he will be best remembered in future years Worcester's most distinguished son, who, leaving his native village in his youth, was brought back after the close of his long and varied life to rest with his kindred in the large city. Here lived Rear-Admiral Gherardi in his young days,

and from here the Governor's five sons went forth to make their way in the world, two of whom have fallen by the wayside; and later "Honest John Davis," as his townspeople called him, a title for which many might envy him, was carried from here to his last resting-place. Finally, Mrs. Davis left the house, though it was many years before she joined her husband, and eventually it was sold and passed into the hands of strangers. The third house was owned and occupied by the Rev. Alonzo Hill, with his wife and two children. He was the colleague, and later the successor, of Dr. Aaron Bancroft in the pastorate of the "Second Parish," a minister much beloved by his parishioners, and one of the most popular people in the town, for he was on the best of terms with his brother clergymen, interested and helpful in town affairs, and always had a cordial greeting for those he met in his daily walks.

The story was told that after his pulpit had been filled by an eloquent and distinguished preacher from a city, some one asked one of the deacons how he liked the sermon of the Sunday previous, and his answer was, "Yes, I liked the sermon and the minister, but he won't wear like Mr. Hill;" thus expressing the opinion of all sensible people that it is not the brilliant sermonizer, but the faithful pastor who, going among his people, and entering into all their joys and sorrows, has most influence for good in a parish.

Somewhere in this vicinity lived Mr. Joseph Kendall, or, as his friends called him, "Father Kendall," whose brother's love affairs at one time caused some amusement in the street. The old Goodwin house had now another occupant in Mr. Edwin Conant, a lawyer in the town, who had removed there from Sterling with his wife, who was a Miss Estabrook, a sister of the late Mrs. Isaac Davis, and his daughter, Elizabeth, an only child. He had built on land north of the house an office; but otherwise the place remained as it was in the time of its former owner.

Next but one below the "Conant" house on the south, a small dwelling had been erected of no note whatever, except for an amusing incident connected with it. The owner having little idea of symmetry had begun to dig his cellar so near the sidewalk, instead of placing it on a line with others in the street, that the house would have been, as it proved to be, anything but an ornament in the neighborhood.

One day the Rev. Mr. Hill, in passing, interviewed the owner, as he was at work, and remonstrated with him in reference to his plans, and suggested to him the propriety, not only for his own sake, but for that of his neighbors, that he should place his house on a level with theirs. The man listened patiently to all Mr. Hill had to say, but all the answer he vouchsafed was, "Dr. Hill, how much do you charge for your advice?"

This result of his interference in the affairs of his neighbor caused the minister much amusement, as he related his experience. For all I know to the contrary the house is still there, but "The Preacher" has preached his last sermon, and is resting from his labors, surrounded by nearly all of his old congregation, as silent as himself. One more item concerning "Lincoln Street," and my recollections come to an end.

In 1824, during his second visit to this country, Lafayette, on his way from Bolton, where he had passed the previous night, drove down this then rural roadway to dine in Worcester, on his way to New York.

It is many years since I have been in Lincoln street, but I hear from others that while the general features of the street remain as they were in former days, including the beautiful maple and other shade trees, that of all the householders of sixty, or even fifty years ago, not one is left to note and to moralize on the changes in their surroundings. But as I, *in thought*, have been wandering up and down the street, I have met them all, quiet, silent

shadows, gliding by me out of "The Past," and as they faded from my sight, I seemed to hear them calling to me to follow where "I think the old, familiar faces will still greet me, and I shall again hear the sound of unforgotten voices."

A STORY OF THREE OLD HOUSES.

By Mrs. E. O. P. Sturgis.

"Shall old acquaintance be forgot,
And never brought to mind?"

In an article on "Lincoln Street," I have described the old "Lincoln Mansion," as I recalled it, after the family had left it and it had passed into the hands of outsiders, being no longer kept up in the stately manner it had been when the "Lincoln family" resided there. Fortunately an account of the place has been handed down by those who formerly knew it well, and I am able, therefore, to give my readers some idea of it as it was in the old days. The house in one account I have seen is called "The Hancock House," it having been the property of Thomas Hancock, who left it to his nephew, Governor John Hancock. In 1781, it became by purchase the property of Hon. Levi Lincoln, the father of the late Governor of that name. He was a lawyer by profession, had an office in Worcester, and when not holding any public position was in constant practice. He was Attorney General in the Cabinet of President Jefferson, and Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts. In this house he lived until his death in 1820—a period of more than forty years. His wife was Miss Martha Waldo, a daughter of Daniel Waldo, and sister of Daniel Waldo, Jr., the last of his name in Worcester. She died March

28, 1828, aged sixty-six years. She is described as having been a very busy woman, like most of our "fore-mothers" of that day, for besides attending to her household duties, and directing in the management of a large farm, to which she had accustomed herself during the long absences of her husband in Washington and Boston, she had a large family of children who claimed her care and attention, all of whom bore testimony, both sons and daughters, by their lives of usefulness, both public and private, to her careful rearing. The large sunny kitchen, occupied by the farmer of the estate, as I remember it, was in Mrs. Lincoln's day the kitchen of her house, and here all the washing was done by an old-fashioned "jack," a source of much amusement to Mrs. Lincoln's grandchildren, on their weekly visits to her. Behind the kitchen was the dairy, where the butter was made, and a large, cool room devoted to cheeses led from it. There was a large poultry-yard in the "Locust Grove," north of the house, where turkeys went early to roost; a brook, the resort of ducks and geese, and everywhere hens and chickens. Behind, and a little to the north of the house, were three large barns, in which were housed colts, calves and lambs, and the usual animals connected with a farm, and from which flew large flocks of pigeons when their food was brought to them. Notwithstanding Mrs. Lincoln's busy life, she found leisure to devote much time and thought to her garden, which extended nearly to the Goodwin estate. There was a door on that side of the house, and from here there were terraces and steps which led to it, and the warm, southern exposure was admirably adapted to the growth of flowers and shrubs. Here I will copy from the old records before me: "Inside the stone wall which separated the garden from the street was a row of cherry and pear trees, and terraces bordered with old-fashioned flowers parallel to it. Such pinks and wall-flowers, columbines, foxgloves and Canterbury bells, were

never seen before—with sunflowers, hollyhocks and marigolds in the background. Great trees of snowballs, lilac bushes and syringas were here and there, and honeysuckles, sweet briars and immense white rose bushes, almost trees, were trained over the porticos and around the doors." "A root of night-shade had spread over one of the rose-trees, with its pretty, shining berries, but a deadly poison, and only allowed to stay there for its beauty, though the owner was fearful that some child might pick and eat one." But my informant quaintly adds: "Children were taught obedience in those days, and were contented with admiring without touching the forbidden fruit." Lincoln's pond, back of the house, was originally a small sheet of water, but enlarged later, and on it Mr. William Lincoln, a son of the house, kept an Indian canoe, which his friends who came to enjoy the beautiful, grassy glades of the woods on the opposite shore were at liberty to use. Across the street, for the larger part of the farm was on that side, was an apple orchard, and a stream of water flowed between the double rows of trees called "Lincoln's Grove," upon which in later years than those of which I write, one could read the names of Worcester belles and beaux carved on the bark. I learn that many of these trees are still standing on Senator Hoar's grounds, and farther south, fresh and vigorous, though scarcely larger than when I first recall them, I added my initials to many others of the young people of that day.

"Somewhat back from the village street
Stood the old-fashioned country seat."

—LONGFELLOW.

In my account of "Lincoln Street" I have referred to the "Nashua Hotel" as one of the old Chandler houses. This house was formerly an old colonial mansion, built

and occupied by one of the sons of the "Honest Refugee," as John Chandler of Revolutionary fame was called. During the Revolution a portion of the "rebel army," so styled, was encamped in this vicinity, and the house became the headquarters of the officers in command. The following story has been handed down in the "Paine family": Mrs. Paine, the wife of the "Tory judge," the lady who had "a tilt" of words with John Adams at her own dinner table, when she did not come off second best, took a walk one day among the soldiers, and they knowing her and her political opinions threatened to shoot her. She faced them and said: "Shoot me if you dare," and then went and complained to their commander of the insult she had received, her feelings being still more hurt at finding her nephew's house in the possession of the rebels, as she considered them. This lady, so I have heard, always took her knitting with her when she went to walk—and perhaps did so when she visited the American soldiers—often leaving her ball of yarn at home, and thus could be traced from house to house as she made her visits to her kinsfolk in the village. I learn that Daniel Waldo, Jr., took up his residence here in 1782, when he moved to Worcester with his family from Lancaster, and that later Levi Lincoln, Jr., brought his bride here to reside in 1807. She was Miss Penelope Winslow Sever of Kingston, in Plymouth Colony, and a granddaughter of Hon. John Chandler of Worcester, and here I quote from an old letter the following: "Mr. and Mrs. Levi Lincoln went to housekeeping in the old Chandler mansion in Lincoln square. It belonged at an earlier date to one of Mrs. Lincoln's uncles, and was then, as she described it, a handsome old colonial house with a broad hall through the middle, with the parlors on each side, and a wide portico over the front door. A long yard or lawn extended into the square, with shade-trees and flower borders, as was the fashion in all nice places in those days."

"The old stone jail stood on the south side of the square, and British officers confined there were frequently seen from the windows of the house walking within the jail limits." The "Lincoln family" lived in this house until after the birth of their third son in 1813, when they moved to their new house on Main street. In 1814, this ancient house became a tavern, and after many owners and vicissitudes of fortune, is, I believe, still standing, but shorn of all its beauty and dignity as a gentleman's residence, and leading one to doubt if anything pertaining to the original structure remains.

"In that mansion used to be
Free-hearted hospitality."
—LONGFELLOW.

According to tradition, on what is now the corner of Elm and Main streets, there stood prior to the Revolution a tavern called "The King's Arms," a favorite resort of the Royalists of that day. Later, Mr. William Sever, who had married Mary Chandler, the father of Mrs. Levi Lincoln, resided on this spot, the land on which the house stood being a portion of a large farm which extended in the rear to the hill on the west, and far down on the other side of it. This farm came eventually into the possession of Levi Lincoln, Jr., he having purchased it of his mother-in-law, on the death of Mr. Sever, and on the part fronting on Main street he built a house, into which he moved from Lincoln square in 1813, although it was not quite completed at the time, and here all the other four children were born. The Main street of that day was a rural thoroughfare, shaded by large elm trees, and there were no houses on the hills west of it, nor on the streets leading to them, now the thickly settled and residential part of the city. The new house was a large brick structure, looking like a

palace when compared with its surroundings, standing quite a distance back from the street, with a broad piazza, in front of which was a large yard, surrounded by a handsome wooden fence, filled with horsechestnut, and other ornamental trees and flowering shrubs, while a broad walk, bordered on each side with flower-beds, led from the street to the stone steps and front door. Over the gateway or entrance to the yard was an archway, and on top of that a lantern, the gate being of wood like the fence. Here Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln resided until the autumn of 1835, though the former was often absent for months at a time in Boston or Washington, according as the exigencies of official life demanded his presence in either city. But when the family was in residence, the house was the scene of constant hospitality, for both Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln were on "hospitable thoughts intent." All the occasions on which it was exercised would be too numerous to mention, and I will only refer to a few of them. The most interesting was the arrival here of Marquis Lafayette in 1824, during his second visit to this country, while on his way from Boston to New York, a journey which in those days took as much time, if not more, than it does now to cross the Atlantic, and he had at the end of the first day arrived at Bolton, where he spent the night at the "Wilder Mansion," so called. A party of gentlemen, one of whom was the late F. W. Paine, went in carriages to meet him, and escort him to Worcester, where a breakfast for gentlemen only was given him by Mr. Lincoln, and later in the day a brief reception of the townspeople was held, while the upper windows of the house were filled with ladies, anxious to catch a sight of the famous Frenchman as he walked down the pathway to his carriage to proceed on his journey. After Lafayette had returned to France, a letter came to the little New England village from him to his late host, thanking him for his courtesy and hospitality, a letter which has un-

forunately disappeared, although carefully treasured for many years after its receipt. The Boston Cadets, the official escort of the Governor of the Commonwealth, came here on one occasion, and were not only given a breakfast, but were entertained at a ball given in their honor in the evening. In cattle-show week, the house was filled with guests, assembled here from all parts of the state, to attend the show, which was quite celebrated in those days, to whom was given a dinner party, and they were invited to remain to the annual ball given by Mrs. Lincoln the evening after the cattle-show, a custom inaugurated in this house, and continued so long as the family remained here. Hither came the Supreme Court judges every autumn to dine with the Governor of the state. Many strangers brought letters of introduction to the Governor, and they were always entertained, while those without such credentials were sought out and invited to break bread with the family. In those days it was the custom for young men to serenade any family which had shown them civilities, and the Governor on these occasions was always ready to respond, to invite them in, at no matter how late the hour, and to regale his impromptu guests with a supper, for Mrs. Lincoln's cupboard, unlike that of "old Mother Hubbard's," was never bare of the good things of life. When this house was sold, as it was eventually, it became a hotel, the destination of many old houses in Worcester, and lost its interest as a family dwelling. A few words concerning the occupants of this old house may not be out of place here. Hon. Levi Lincoln was born in Worcester Oct. 25th, 1782, in the old Lincoln mansion in Lincoln street, and on May 29th, 1868, his long and busy life came to an end. He was a gentleman of the "old school," a class of men of whom few are left in the community; dignified and courteous in his manners, very conservative in his ideas, but ready to meet more than half way the requirements of mod-

ern days, and to adapt himself to the new order of things. He had held many offices, of high and low degree, and while doing so had never allowed the dignity of them to be infringed upon in the slightest degree. He loved the old customs and ways of his youth, and often compared them with those of the present day, and not always to the advantage of the latter. Referring one evening at his own tea-table to the changes which had taken place in household arrangements since he was young, and how much he preferred the old ways, he remarked in an aside to me, "I should even like to have my pudding before my meat, as I used to have it when I was a boy in my father's house" —a custom which prevailed one hundred years since in all New England houses.

Mrs. Lincoln was born in Kingston, Mass., July 21, 1786, and on April 2, 1872, she entered into her rest. Of all her contemporaries none are left, but some people in Worcester will remember her and her many admirable traits of character, her outspoken words in denunciation of any wrong doing; her kindness to those less well off than herself, and her loyalty to her friends. With the passing away of these good people, my story ends, one imperfectly told of three old houses, but which may be of interest on account of these houses having been the homes, at different periods, of three generations of a family who have done so much in their days of usefulness, both in a public and private capacity, to increase the prosperity of and to develop the little village in which they were born, into the present large city, and who have left behind them a name to be remembered and honored in the "Heart of the Commonwealth."

Remarks followed by C. A. Chase, T. A. Dickinson and Major Stiles, the latter saying the cellar-hole referred to in the above paper was of a hotel

kept by Jason Duncan. The evening being well spent the meeting was adjourned for one week.

Adjourned meeting, June 12, 1900.

Met in Salisbury Hall.

President Crane in the chair.

Quite a large audience was in attendance, including sixteen members of the Veteran Firemen's Association.

The President announced that Saturday, June 23, had been selected by the Committee of Arrangements for the excursion to Lexington, and that the trip would probably be made via Boston, that further particulars would be given the members by means of postal cards.

James H. Bancroft, Esq., was then introduced and read the following:

THE MERRIFIELD FIRE OF 1854.

By James H. Bancroft.

On the 10th day of January, 1839, Samuel R. Jackson and Isaac Davis conveyed to William T. Merrifield a tract of land upon the northerly side of Columbian avenue, now Exchange street. This tract had a frontage of 100 feet on Columbian avenue, extended northwardly to the brook, was bounded easterly by what is now Union street, and is the lot whereon the office building of the Merrifield estate now stands.

By a deed dated Nov. 1, 1842, Joel W. Upham conveyed to William T. Merrifield a tract of land bounded northerly on Columbian avenue 115 feet, easterly by a passage-way between the premises and the Methodist meeting-house (now Union street), southerly by land of Samuel M. Burnside, and westerly by land of Samuel R. Jackson and Hezekiah M. Smith. This conveyance included a two-story wooden building, with a steep pitch roof and a steam engine; this deed was not recorded until Nov. 15, 1843. In this building Mr. Merrifield made window-sash, blinds, shingles and other building material.

Soon after this time, one William Woodworth invented a rotary planing-machine for planing boards. Mr. Merrifield acquired the right to use this planer in Worcester and vicinity, put it at work in this building in 1843 or '44, and thereafter planed boards for two dollars per 1000 feet per side; this was much cheaper than hand labor. The hum of this machine was easily heard half a mile distant. But he was not to enjoy this monopoly alone undisputed. One Benjamin Brown invented another planer superior to Woodworth's. The right to use this machine was purchased by Person Cowee about 1847, and the rival machine set at work upon the same side of Exchange street in a building near the Nashua railroad. For a time these two machines hummed merrily side by side for two dollars per 1000 feet. In due time it was shown that the Brown patent infringed upon the Woodworth, and the Brown planer was silenced. Mr. Merrifield then purchased the Brown planer and the right to use the same, discarded the Woodworth machine, installed the Brown planer in its stead, and continued to run the same for many years.

In 1848 Mr. Merrifield erected upon Union street and southerly from his planing-mill estate a four-story building 40 feet wide and some 120 or more feet in length, and rented the rooms therein for machine-shops, furnishing the

power from the engine at the planing-mill. In 1849 Mr. Merrifield made an arrangement with the owner of the Burnside land southerly of his estate to erect a continuation of his Union street building to North Foster street. Mr. Merrifield controlled this building, and rented the same as the other building for machine-shops.

When this latter building was completed in September, 1849, the Worcester County Mechanics Association held its second exhibition therein, occupying the whole of the new building for the week commencing Sept. 18, 1849.

In 1851 Mr. Merrifield removed his wooden mill at the corner of Exchange and Union streets to the westerly of the first Union street building, and erected another four-story building fifty feet wide upon Union street, and extending westerly upon Exchange street as far as the original purchase from Mr. Upham. A gap which was existing between this building upon the Union street side to his other building upon Union street of about forty feet in length was filled by building three stories above the first to correspond with his other buildings, leaving the lower or first story open as a passage-way to the wooden building in its new location before mentioned. When this building upon Exchange street was completed in September, 1851, the Worcester County Mechanics Association held their third exhibition therein, occupying the whole of the Exchange street building for the week commencing Sept. 16, 1851.

Dec. 24, 1851, Mr. Merrifield purchased of Edward Lamb (not the carpenter and builder) a tract of land upon the southerly side of Exchange street adjoining his other estate, extending westerly to Cypress street and running southerly on Cypress street to land of Alfred D. Foster; and in the year 1852 he built from the other building on Exchange street westerly a building fifty feet wide and four stories in height to Cypress street. The next year, 1853,

he erected buildings four stories high and forty feet wide the entire length of his line upon Cypress street. He also made arrangements with Mr. Alfred D. Foster to extend these buildings to North Foster street, all of which was done in 1853.

Mr. Merrifield also built a row of brick buildings forty feet wide and one story high from the old wooden mill in its new location upon his own land and land of Alfred D. Foster to North Foster street. All of these four-story buildings stood upon stone foundations, the first story being of brick, the walls being twelve inches in thickness; then came three stories with a wooden frame and a four-inch brick wall in place of outer boards and clapboards; the large floor timbers were 12 by 15 inches, with plank floorings; there was a brick coping at the top of the building; the roofs were nearly flat, and were covered with tar and gravel; the tar was of the soft kind, which would and did run out upon what little woodwork there was upon the eaves, covering it well, and also ran down upon the brick walls upon each side of the building, leaving numerous black streaks, which could be plainly seen upon each side of these buildings.

In the meantime and prior to this time other people were not idle. Isaac Davis, who owned a tract of land upon the northerly side of Columbian avenue, extending from the old canal westerly to within about seventy-five feet from what is now Union street, prior to 1845 erected a two-story frame building with steep pitch roof and basement upon the northerly side and westerly end, which was some 125 feet in length and about 35 feet in width. This was for many years used as a cabinet-ware manufactory. I remember the first time I saw the building, reading in the large letters painted thereon, "No Yes and Long," having then never heard of the name of Noyes. Westerly of this manufactory, on land of Nahum Perkins, stood a long two-story wooden

building, evidently removed from some other location, well covering the ground to Union street. Next westerly upon the other side of Union street was the office building of Mr. Merrifield, erected by him prior to 1845. Next westerly was the old Methodist chapel, erected by Samuel R. Jackson upon his own land, for the use of the First Methodist Church, and occupied by them until their meeting-house was burned in 1844. The next Sunday after the fire, the Second Methodist Society (now Laurel Street) held their first service in this house. In a few months this Second Society removed to the chapel of the Central Church on Thomas street. Next westerly from the old Methodist chapel was a wooden building occupied by Sidney Smith; next westerly from this was the livery stable occupied by Nathan T. Bemis; both of these buildings were erected and once occupied by Benjamin Walker. Westerly from the livery stable was Mrs. Magoun's dwelling-house. Upon the southwesterly corner of Exchange street and Cypress street was a two-story wooden building lined with brick some forty feet wide and one hundred or more feet in length. Southerly of this building there were dwelling-houses upon the westerly side of Cypress street; also a building occupied by A. P. Jordan for a blacksmith-shop and for shoeing horses.

Oct. 3, 1845, Isaac Davis conveyed to Samuel Davis and Edward Earle land upon the southerly side of Market street, now Exchange street, bounding easterly upon the canal and having a frontage of sixty feet upon Market street.

Oct. 20, 1845, John Warden conveyed to the same Davis and Earle the next lot upon Market street westerly of the last-mentioned lot, also having a frontage of sixty feet upon Market street. Mr. Warden in the same deed to Davis and Earle conveyed the old Methodist Church lot upon the corner of Market and Union streets. The ruins of the

meeting-house, inclusive of the southerly end of the house which was saved from the fire, were then standing thereon.

The history of this Methodist Church lot is as follows:

March 20, 1838, Isaac Davis conveyed a lot of land upon the southerly side of Columbian avenue, bounded northerly upon Columbian avenue 60 feet, westerly upon Quinsigamond street about 75 feet to a new ditch, southerly on land of grantor and William T. Merrifield 60 feet, and easterly on land of Isaac Davis, Samuel R. Jackson and William T. Merrifield about 75 feet, with the meeting-house which stands thereon, to Samuel R. Jackson, Pitt Holmes, William Henshaw and Joel B. Fuller, a committee of the Methodist Religious Society.

May 6, 1839, these grantees, Samuel R. Jackson and others, conveyed the same estate to Pitt Holmes, William Henshaw, Leonard Flagg, Eli Goulding, Thomas W. Butterfield and Samuel D. Barker, trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Worcester. This deed is written in accordance with the form required in the Methodist book of discipline.

In this deed Mr. Jackson is described as of Providence, R. I.; he was at one time President of the Providence & Worcester or Blackstone Canal Company.

The meeting-house was burned on Monday, Feb. 19th, 1844, having been occupied as house of worship less than seven years. And on Oct. 20, 1845, the trustees then in authority, viz., Pitt Holmes, Eli Goulding, Loren Wetherell, John Warden, Jonathan L. Estey, all of Worcester, William Henshaw of Spencer and Phineas Crandall of Lynn, conveyed the estate to John Warden, who on the same day conveyed it to Davis and Earle as before stated.

Upon this estate was erected at the corner of Market and Union streets a three-story building about 50 feet by 60 or 65 feet, with steep pitch roof; the first story was of stone from Millstone hill; the second and third stories were

of wood and covered with clapboards. Next easterly of this building upon Market street was erected a two-story building of wood about 70 feet in length and 35 or 40 feet in width. This establishment had a steam-engine, with boilers, house and chimney of its own situate easterly of the stone shop upon the church lot; the engine was built in Boston by a man named Bisbee, who personally superintended the setting up of the same.

Nov. 29, 1845, Isaac Davis conveyed to Davis and Earle a tract of land upon the easterly side of Union street, next southerly of the Methodist Church lot, of 140 feet front upon Union street. At the time of this conveyance there was a block of six dwelling-houses of wood, two stories in height, standing upon the land; these buildings were afterwards removed to the southerly side of Market street, not far from Summer street; and upon this estate was erected a long building of 150 feet in length and 50 feet in width, the northerly end thereof being upon the church lot; this building was of the same character of the shop upon the church lot, except that the first story was of brick instead of stone. Nov. 27, 1845, Nahum Perkins conveyed to Samuel Davis the lot upon the northerly side of Market street, between Isaac Davis' land and Union street.

Later Edward Earle conveyed all his interest in real estate owned with Samuel Davis to Mr. Davis and Samuel Davis. July 3, 1847, conveyed the shop upon Union street of 150 feet in length to Allen & Thurber, pistol manufacturers; the estate conveyed to Allen & Thurber extended easterly to the Worcester & Nashua Railroad land.

Allen & Thurber soon after their purchase erected a tall chimney with brick engine-house upon their own estate, and placed therein an engine and boilers for power for themselves.

July 1, 1848, Samuel Davis conveyed to William T. Merrifield the estate purchased by him of Nahum Perkins upon

the northerly side of Exchange street, and all his remaining estate upon the southerly side of Exchange street.

Mr. Merrifield then removed the steam-engine and chimney from the Davis estate or old church lot, and furnished power from a larger plant of his own upon the westerly side of Union street.

Oct. 1, 1852, William T. Merrifield conveyed the Nahum Perkins estate to John Gates. All the buildings erected by Samuel Davis and Edward Earle were built some two years or more before the first four-story building of Mr. Merrifield upon Union street was completed.

Prior to 1853 Mr. Merrifield placed in his buildings upon Union street, next to the driveway to the old mill, a new and larger engine, increased the number of his boilers, and erected a tall chimney, rivaling that of Allen & Thurber.

Upon the northwesterly corner of Union and North Foster streets was a two-story wooden building, perhaps 25 by 30 or 40 feet in size, owned by Horatio N. Tower, standing upon land leased by him of the Boston & Worcester Railroad Company. The Charles Baker Company's plant now covers the site of this building.

We now come to A. D. 1854.

Lamb & Foster, carpenters and builders, occupied the two-story wooden building upon the south side of Exchange street, next westerly of the Worcester & Nashua railroad. C. Whitcomb & Co., machinist tool-makers, occupied the first story of the shop upon the old church lot; the upper stories were of Hovey & Lazell, hay and straw cutter manufacturers. George Dryden, machinist, occupied a room within the territory of Hovey & Lazell. Allen & Thurber occupied the second, third and fourth stories or attic of their building, access to which was gained by outside stairs and platforms upon each of the east and west sides of the building.

The first or lower story was occupied by Thayer, Hough-

ton & Co., machinist tool-makers. Next southerly was John Gates' lumber-yard, with a two-story wooden office building, lumber-sheds and barn thereon. This yard occupied all the land upon the easterly side of Union street southerly of the Allen & Thurber estate to the Worcester & Nashua railroad upon the east and south. The land of the lumber-yard estate was many years ago owned by Abijah Bigelow, once clerk of the courts; it came into the possession of Samuel M. Burnside and his wife prior to 1840. Adolphus Morse purchased it April 1, 1845. Mr. Morse conveyed it to Dwight Foster March 8, 1851, and Mr. Foster conveyed it to John Gates April 1, 1854.

The two-story wooden building owned by Horatio N. Tower upon the northwesterly corner of Union and North Foster streets was occupied by Henry Palmer & Co., carpenters; a portion of this building was occupied by workmen of Furbush & Crompton, loom-builders.

In the Merrifield buildings, upon the westerly side of Union street, were located upon the first or lower floor Samuel Flagg & Co., manufacturers of machinists' tools; northerly of Flagg & Co. to the driveway were Prouty & Allen, nail-makers; northerly of the driveway in the Exchange street building, but opening upon Union street, was Mr. Merrifield's rotary plaing-machine for boards. Daniel Tainter, manufacturer of woolen machinery, occupied the whole of the second floor of the Union street building; Charles Hovey & Co., hay and straw cutter makers, occupied the whole of the third floor. Upon the fourth floor were William R. Bliss, boot manufacturer; Towne & Dodd, manufacturers of perforated paper; Worcester Needle Co.; H. E. Dorman & Brother, machinists; Smith Green, maker of shoe tools, and Jonathan Grout, manufacturer of portemonnaies.

Upon Exchange street were located—on the first floor, J. & J. C. Brown, machinist tool-makers; upon the second

floor, Furbush & Crompton, loom-builders; Richards & Smith, sash and blind makers; Horace W. Butler, sash-maker; upon the third floor, Williams, Rich & Co., machinist tool-makers; Charles E. Wilder, boot tools; Charles E. Staples, bit-stocks. Other tenants in this building upon Exchange street were Charles H. Blake, machinist; Hitchcock & Muzzy, rifle-barrel makers; Howard & Davis, sewing-machine makers; A. H. Whipple, machinist, and Austin W. Bixby, pattern-maker.

Upon Cypress street were located—on the first floor, Worcester Machinist Tool Co., Samuel Flagg, agent; David McFarland, machinist tools; Luther White, machinist; William Thompson, machine jobber; upon the second floor, Samuel G. Reed, wheels and wheel-stock; Rodney A. M. Johnson & Co., makers of spinning-jacks. F. J. Gouch & Sanborn, plane-makers, were on the third floor at the southerly end, and directly over them in the fourth story were Hood, Battelle & Co., sewing-machine makers; Towne & Harrington, machinists, were also in the fourth story. Also in this building were Edmund F. Dixie, manufacturer of wrenches; John Goodell, maker of bedsteads; Emory L. Shumway, boot-tree maker; Worcester Knitting Co.; Samuel A. Poole, machinist; S. A. Howland, maker of mortising-machines; Isaac Fiske, musical instrument maker; N. B. Jewett, seraphine maker; Samuel W. Hayden, carpenter; Jason Putnam, harness-frame maker, and Edward Lyon, carpenter.

It is not known who occupied the dwelling-houses upon the westerly side of Cypress street, which were included in the great destruction. A wooden building, also upon the westerly side of Cypress street, was occupied by A. P. Jordan for shoeing horses, and a blacksmith shop. The two-story wooden building at the southwesterly corner of Cypress street and Exchange street was owned by Lewis Bigelow, and occupied by him for a bowling-alley.

The dwelling-house upon the northerly side of Exchange street belonging to Mrs. Magoun was occupied by her as a boarding-house. The real estate between the Magoun house and the old Methodist chapel, having about 100 feet frontage upon Exchange street, was owned by Benjamin Walker; there was a large livery stable thereon occupied by Nathan T. Bemis, and between the stable and the chapel was a wooden building occupied by Sidney Smith; the directory of that time says Mr. Smith was a baker; he also kept a saloon therein.

The old Methodist chapel building had been raised and a story underneath had been put in; the lower story was occupied by M. M. Warner, who kept an eating-house. The upper story was occupied by Zion M. E. Church, which then owned the estate. The story of the title to this estate is unique, and is as follows: Samuel R. Jackson, the friend of the Methodist Church and of the Blackstone canal, purchased this estate, together with adjoining estates, in the early thirties. He erected thereon a chapel, which was occupied by the Methodist Church until the burning of their meeting-house in 1844; but the church as such never had any title therein. In 1844 or 1845 the present Zion M. E. Church commenced to occupy the house, and have continued upon the same premises to this day. They negotiated for the estate, but were too poor to pay, and unable to take the title. Dec. 26, 1844, Mr. Jackson conveyed one undivided half of this estate to Francis Strong, who was also a Methodist. Nov. 11, 1846, Jackson and Strong conveyed the chapel estate to Samuel Davis, a member of the Old South Parish. May 4, 1847, Samuel Davis conveyed the premises to the Worcester & Nashua Railroad Co. Oct. 7, 1847, the railroad company conveyed the estate to Edward Lamb of Boston. Dec. 4, 1849, Edward Lamb conveyed the estate to John Davis, the ex-Governor and U. S. Senator. Mr. Davis gave a bond to George F. Hoar,

agreeing to release to him, or to such persons as he should appoint in trust, for Zion Methodist Society, with authority to convey to said society when, in the judgment of the trustees, the interests of the society will thereby be benefited. Later on Mr. Hoar appointed Ichabod Washburn, Henry Chapin and William B. Fox, Sr., and Mr. Davis made a deed to them and the survivor or survivors of them and their successors in said trust. This deed was dated Dec. 8, 1853, acknowledged March 6, 1854, and recorded April 22, 1854, in Book 524, page 349, less than two months before the great conflagration. These trustees all died, leaving the trust undischarged, and Samuel R. Heywood, Charles G. Reed and Reuben Colton were appointed in their stead, as appears by their declaration of trust dated Dec. 31, 1881, acknowledged Feb. 8, 1882, and recorded Dec. 8, 1882, in Book 1135, page 180.

Aaron Sampson & Co., wheelwrights; Howard Holden, grist-mill, and William J. White, coffee-grinding mill, were all in Merrifield's office building at the northwesterly corner of Union and Exchange streets. Mr. Merrifield's counting-room was also in this building. Northerly of the office building, upon Union street, were located the water-tank and pumping apparatus for filling water-carts from Mill brook owned and occupied by Elbridge Hewett, the father of George F. Hewett. This plant was situated upon land of Mr. Merrifield.

The Nahum Perkins estate, at the northeast corner of Exchange and Union streets, owned by John Gates, was occupied by his brother, Chas. E. Gates, as a grocery-store. The long wooden building easterly of the grocery-store, owned by Isaac Davis, was occupied by Joseph Burt, cabinet-maker, and by Taber & Chollar, furniture manufacturers.

The Worcester & Nashua Railroad Company had a long row of wood-sheds upon the easterly side of their track adjoining John Gates' yard, where was kept the fuel for their locomotives.

The old wooden mill in the centre of the hollow square formed by the Union, Exchange and Cypress street buildings was occupied by David Palmer, box-maker; a portion of this building was occupied by Mr. Merrifield for the storage of lumber. There were no other tenants in this building.

The one-story brick building extending from the old wooden mill to North Foster street was occupied by various persons, and most of it was used for blacksmith shops for the machine-shop men. Charles Wright was a blacksmith and one who occupied in this building, and there were others, but it can not now be stated who they were.

Some portions of the Cypress street building, being the last of the four-story shops erected by Mr. Merrifield, were not rented. There was very little if any vacant room in the other buildings.

It is very probable that the location of some of the tenants may have been misstated, and that some who are entitled to be mentioned are wholly omitted.

The standard price for rent in Merrifield's buildings was ten cents per square foot per annum, and ten cents more for power, making twenty cents in all.

THE FATEFUL DAY WAS WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14, 1854.

Hood, Battelle & Co., sewing-machine makers, occupied a room on the fourth floor of the Cypress street building at the southerly end, extending from North Foster street northwardly. F. J. Gouch & Sanborn occupied the room under Hood, Battelle & Co. The sewing-machine men all went to dinner soon after twelve o'clock noon. Only a few moments later Gouch & Sanborn discovered fire in the sewing-machine room; a few pails of water would have been sufficient to extinguish the fire, but they were not at hand. The alarm was sounded at ten minutes past twelve o'clock. Few people had commenced to eat their dinners, and still

fewer actually ate dinner that day. Everybody went to the fire.

How the fire commenced was not then and never will be known. Soon the flames burst from the upper story windows, and at once the bricks in the coping began to fall singly, endangering those who wished to pass in and out of the building.

Reed's wheel-shop was upon the second floor of this building, and to the on-looker it seemed as though every wheel in the shop was jumping out of the windows. The fire from the windows of the upper story fed upon the tar which had run from the roof and covered the wooden jet, and soon the jets upon both the east and west sides of the Cypress street building were on fire for more than 200 feet in length. The fire also ate its way through the roof, and slowly downward towards the lower floors.

For a time no one supposed that the fire would not be confined to the Cypress street building. But the Fire Department could not or did not throw any water upon that fire upon the roof. Black volumes of smoke rose, giving notice to the surrounding towns that something was wrong in Worcester. The fire continued eating its way towards the northerly end of this building, and in time the heat and fire communicated to the wooden building in the centre of the hollow square which was used as a box factory and for storage of lumber. Soon this building was ablaze, and no man was able to remain in the west side of the hollow square, and people began to realize the greatness of this calamity. The fire next attacked and consumed the one-story row of buildings extending from the box factory to North Foster street. The building upon the westerly side of Union street was the next to be attacked; while this building was burning, the fire was doing some of its hottest execution. At this time the whistle attached to Merrifield's large steam boilers commenced to blow, and

continued its blast for fully three-quarters of an hour, with varied strength of tones and sounds, at times mournful, then angry, according to the degree of heat and the work of the fire.

I thought of the steamer Atlantic wrecked in Long Island Sound a few years previously, which lay upon the rocks some weeks, where it could not be reached, and the bell was in such position that the wind caused it to toll, and passers-by heard its continuous toll for many days. Finally the whistle was completely burned out, and its most piteous and doleful complaint ceased.

While the Union street building was burning, two men were standing upon the railroad bridge near Goddard, Rice & Co.'s shop watching the progress of the fire. One says, "How long will the Allen & Thurber pistol-shop be burning when the fire reaches it?" The other replied, "Three-quarters of an hour." The first one says, "Half an hour." The floor-beams in this building were 12 by 14 or 15 inches in size, like those in the Merrifield buildings. These men stood and timed it with their watches. My informant said the first indication of combustion was a steam from the clapboards caused by the heat. Shortly after this the wind blew a sheet of flame from the Merrifield building, and shaved off a slice from the roof; it did not burn it, but shaved it off cleanly. By and by another sheet of flame came and shaved off a second slice; then the building took fire, and in thirteen minutes from the shaving of the first slice from the roof, the building was entirely consumed, nothing remaining except the brick walls of the first story.

This building burned so rapidly that men in the third story picking up their tools had barely time to escape, and Joseph W. Carey was obliged to make his exit through a window over the platform upon the easterly side, and as he dropped he fell upon a pile of account-books which Ethan Allen was then bringing out of the shop; the books

were scattered in all directions. Mr. Allen gathered up his books, and Mr. Carey informed your orator that it was fortunate those books were there for him to fall upon.

The fire upon Cypress street was discovered between five and ten minutes past twelve o'clock. At one o'clock the engineer of the Allen & Thurber pistol-shop started his engine and ran it twenty minutes. He then stopped it, turned on steam from the boilers into the brick engine-house, closed it tightly, and the next day that engine was in good condition and ready to run, if there had been any occasion for so doing.

Next the fire took possession of John Gates' lumber-yard, making a clean sweep of all the lumber and buildings thereon. The long row of wood-sheds of the Worcester & Nashua Railroad Co. upon the easterly side of their track was torn down to prevent the spread of the flames.

While this was going on, the fire was devouring the Exchange street line of Merrifield's buildings. The occupants of this building, with the aid of others, made a stubborn resistance, and delayed the fire for a time, but finally they were compelled to succumb to the flames. The fire then attacked and consumed the shop occupied by Lamb & Foster upon Exchange street and the shop upon the old Methodist Church lot. The fire then crossed Exchange street, burned the long building owned by Isaac Davis, the grocery-store occupied by Charles E. Gates, Mr. Merrifield's office building, Elbridge Hewett's water-tank plant, the old Methodist chapel building, the building occupied by Sidney Smith, the Nathan T. Bemis livery stable, and partially destroyed Mrs. Magoun's dwelling-house. This house was soon afterwards repaired, and is now standing.

Upon the southwesterly corner of Exchange and Cypress streets, the building occupied by Lewis Bigelow as a bowling-alley was partially burned. This building was lined with brick, has since been repaired, and now is but one

story in height, and is one of the buildings mentioned by Mr. Stiles in his essay upon Exchange street recently read before this Society. Also the blacksmith-shop of A. P. Jordan and the two dwelling-houses upon the westerly side of Cypress street were wholly destroyed, as was also the two-story building owned by Horatio N. Tower standing upon land of the Boston & Worcester Railroad Co. at the northwesterly corner of Union and North Foster streets. Some other buildings were at times on fire, but the flames were extinguished.

At five o'clock the destruction was completed. Upon the burned district, which covered some five acres, nothing remained but two tall chimneys and the brick engine-house of Allen & Thurber, with its contents of engine and boilers in good condition.

The Merrifield power-plant was greatly injured. In a few weeks the damaged engine was to some extent repaired. A shanty was erected at the southwesterly corner of Union and Exchange streets, another planer was purchased and placed therein, and commenced to hum for two dollars per 1000 feet per side.

Mr. Merrifield's tall chimney was a few months later removed to the northerly side of Exchange street and easterly side of Union street, and the Allen & Thurber chimney was removed to the old Methodist Church lot, and both are now standing upon these locations.

Each of these chimneys was between 105 feet and 110 feet in height, and at that time their removal was considered worthy of especial mention.

During the progress of the fire Mr. Merrifield met Mr. Isaac Davis, and said to him, "I have a note of $3,000 due at the Mechanics' Bank this afternoon, and the money therefor is in this pocketbook. I wish you would take this book and pay the note for me." Mr. Davis did as requested and returned the book to Mr. Merrifield.

The day succeeding the fire Mr. Merrifield invited his tenants to meet him at his residence, which was then in the old Waldo mansion upon Waldo street before its use as a hotel. The time of meeting was Friday evening, June 16th; nearly all of them appeared. He said he had been in the habit of visiting them quarterly one by one, but never before had the pleasure of seeing them all at one time; he was glad to see them, but sorry for the occasion; that the object of calling them together was to learn how many of them would like to re-engage rooms of him; that if they all desired to do so, he would rebuild as large as before; if they wished for but half, he would build half as large as before; if they wished for but one-fourth, then he would build one-fourth as large; if they did not wish for any, then he would build what he needed for himself.

The effects of this fire, the largest Worcester has ever seen upon its prosperity, were immense.

At that time Worcester was making more machinists' tools than any other town or city in the Western world, and had complete control of that business—seven large shops, viz.: Samuel Flagg & Co., C. Whitcomb & Co., Thayer, Houghton & Co., Williams, Rich & Co., Wood, Light & Co., Shepard, Lathe & Co., Worcester Machinist & Tool Co., besides more than double that number of smaller ones engaged in that business. Five of the large shops, and more than one-half of the others, were burned out that day, and could not make any tools for other than themselves for nearly one year. Two large hay and straw cutter manufactories were burned; one immediately removed to New York city; the other was so badly crippled by the fire that it continued business but a short time, and that industry, so far as Worcester is concerned, was practically wiped out.

To summarize, fifty-eight individuals and firms engaged in some kind of mechanical business were completely burned out that day; fifty-two of these were Mr. Merrifield

and his tenants; six were tenants to other landlords. These fifty-eight individuals and firms included more than one hundred persons; of these more than one hundred persons, only six are now known to be living; some of these six are present at this meeting.

In addition were also burned two saloons or eating-houses, one bowling-alley, one grocery-store, one lumber-yard, one livery stable, one church, two dwelling-houses wholly, one dwelling-house partially, building occupied by bowling-alley partially; Mr. Hewett's water-tank plant and the wood-sheds of the Worcester & Nashua Railroad were destroyed by being torn down; these additions are twelve in number.

What Worcester would have been had the Merrifield fire not have happened, we shall leave for others to conjecture.

Supplementary.

At the conclusion of the reading of the foregoing paper, it was stated by Hon. Thomas J. Hastings that at the time of the fire he was an employee of Hood, Battelle & Co., and was at work in that shop during the morning of that day, and was the last man to leave that shop at noon; that he went directly to his home upon Summer street from the shop, and heard the alarm of fire while on his way, but continued on until he reached the house, not supposing the fire was in the shop which he had just left.

Edmund M. Barton, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, also stated that His Excellency Emory Washburn, Governor of the Commonwealth, that afternoon assisted in working the brakes of a fire-engine where the men belonging to the same had become exhausted.

Fire-engines were present from Clinton and Fitchburg, Mass., Nashua, N. H., and other places. Two engines came from Millbury, an adjoining town five miles distant. There

was quite a rivalry between those two machines as to which should be the first to commence work at the fire, and it was stated by one gentleman present that one of the Millbury companies was so eager to begin work that upon their arrival at Worcester, without waiting for the gang-plank to be placed in position against the platform-car, they took the fire-engine directly from the car to the ground, and that this engine was at work throwing water upon the fire in seventeen minutes from the time of leaving Millbury.

It was further stated that arrangements were made by telegraph with the chief of the Fire Department in Boston by the chief of the Worcester department that if the fire should attack the livery stables of George F. Bonney upon Foster street, engines should be sent from Boston to Worcester; and engines were placed at the depot in Boston in readiness to start, and the railroad officials promised the engines should reach Worcester in thirty minutes from the time of leaving Boston; but the fire did not attack the stables, and the Boston engines did not come.

Remarks were made by Mr. John W. Loring and other members of the Veteran Firemen's Association, including Messrs. Jennison and Bonzey.

Major Stiles gave some incidents in connection with the fire, as did E. M. Barton, who saw Gov. Emory Washburn on that occasion working on the brakes of the engine.

Hon. Thos. J. Hastings said he was employed in the building at that time and the last person he believed to leave the room where the fire originated.

The meeting was then adjourned to Thursday evening, June 14.

Adjourned meeting, June 14, 1900.

Met in Salisbury Hall.

President Crane in the chair.

A good sized audience being present, James Green, Esq., was introduced and read the following:

CAUSES OF THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

By James Green, Esq.

From the American Lawyer's Standpoint.

It was in 1652, more than a century and a half after the Portuguese discoverers had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, when the Dutch East India Company founded a station near the present Cape Town as a point where their ships on the way to India could call and get fresh meat and vegetables and put their sick into hospital; for the long voyage of those days brought sickness or death to many an adventurer. Six years later, West African slaves were brought into the colony, and soon afterwards Malay convicts from the East Indies. In 1689, 300 French Huguenots came from Holland to the Cape. Here were the elements of the population. The French became lost in the Dutch surroundings. Their language, customs, education, disappeared after a few generations, and little that was distinctively French remained except some family names. The Malays fused with the blacks. The result was white masters and black slaves. If there were some blacks who were not quite slaves, they were all a servile caste, easily distinguished by color from the masters.

The colony was ruled by the Dutch East India Company, with a view to the company's interests and not for the colonists. The settlers, growing restless, wandered off from the settlement far into the interior, tending their herds and living a wandering life remote from government, law and

taxes. They were too poor ever to get back to Holland and keep in touch with its education and refinement. A hundred and fifty years of this remote and solitary life to the close of the eighteenth century found them still wandering on the high tablelands of the interior, combining with their fellowmen in communities no more than was necessary to present a warlike front to the natives, and making predatory incursions into their black neighbors' lands to enlarge their own pastures and bring away cattle and slaves. This life on horseback in the open air, gun over the shoulder, sleeping in tents, hunting wild beasts, warring against the savages, for many generations, built up a matchless race for war. They were no longer Dutch or French, but a distinct "Africander" race. Ownership of slaves of an undeveloped race, consciousness of superiority to all other people met in daily contact, war against nature, wild beasts and wild men,—usually successful,—little knowledge of what was going on in the outside world, together with the superb health and strength that came from their outdoor life, bred in them self-reliance and contempt for other men. They had heard at the end of the eighteenth century how the North American colonies had thrown off the rule of Great Britain, and about the French Revolution; and they threw off the government of the Dutch East India Company.

Europe was occupied now with the Napoleonic wars felt over all the world. England seized the Dutch settlements at the Cape, and in 1814, at the time of the treaty of Vienna, Holland confirmed the title by treaty in return for a money payment. British rule in South Africa, therefore, was solidly based on one of the group of treaties which organized modern Europe and consolidated the independence of the United States of America.

In various ways, however, the British rulers annoyed the old inhabitants. They were injudicious in introducing the

English language prematurely in the courts and public offices before any large share of the people could understand it. Their early rule was military and sometimes arbitrary. The missionaries were another constant source of trouble to the Boers. They taught the natives the equality of all men before the law. They were the only friends the poor blacks had, and they made it a point of conscience to report to their central societies at London and elsewhere every act of injustice which came to their knowledge. Perhaps their zeal carried them too far and made them report things they would better have overlooked. The Boers, however, found the doctrines and protests of the missionaries an unjustifiable intrusion. They were in no mood to endure any restraint which was not of their own creation, and of that they wanted as little as possible.

But the great wrong which stirred the Dutch to the depths was the abolition of slavery by Great Britain, in all her possessions, in 1834. This act was accompanied by payment for the slaves, quite insufficient to make up for the temporary injury, and so paid over—in London—that the colonists actually received very little of it. The property-loss to the colonists was very severe, it was beggary to some of them. This act of emancipation seemed to the Boers the crowning wrong. They held that slavery was sanctioned by the Old Testament, and they saw no more justice in taking away their slaves without full compensation than in taking their oxen.

We have ceased to argue in the United States as to the right of holding men in slavery, and even as to its economical advantages. As to the duty of our whole country's paying our Southerners the value of their slaves, we never felt this duty before our American troubles broke out into civil war any more than Great Britain did. Had the slave-holder a moral right to compensation any more than any one who had held long possession of stolen goods?

And if compensation was morally due the slave-holders, who was it who owed it? The colony had had the material advantages of slavery, such as they were, in the past. Why should the whole cost of the change be thrown upon the British Isles alone? As it was, Great Britain appropriated a hundred million dollars towards this loss in all her possessions.

The expediency, however, of Great Britain's paying the full value of the slaves—as of the United States's paying the whole value of the American slaves—is no longer debatable, in view of the costly and bloody wars that grew out of both emancipations. But though our own emancipation came a generation later than the British, and we might have drawn wisdom from their experience, yet our parties never divided in that interval upon the question of offering compensation for the slaves. Our Northern people would have said, "Why must I pay my neighbor to cease from wrong-doing?"

It was, of course, a stupid thing for the British administration not to take the utmost pains that the liberal sum it paid for abolition should reach the slave-holders with the least possible cost and loss, and not be frittered away in fees, expenses and discounts for collection in far-off London.

So the Dutch seceded from Cape Colony in 1836, to the number of nearly 10,000 people, in the "Great Trek" as they call it, and went off with their long ox-teams over the trackless plains of the interior. For a while they established very little government. They crowded the natives off of their pastures, treated them lawlessly and brutally and were in constant warfare with them. The British became involved in this warfare from time to time, to the great annoyance of the home government. In hope of peace and lessened responsibility, in 1852 Great Britain established the "Sand River Convention" with the Boers beyond the

river Vaal, and in 1854 made the Bloemfontein convention with the Orange Free State. By these conventions, the internal independence of the two republics was admitted. From that time to the present war, British relations with the Orange Free State have been generally satisfactory. The British and Dutch inhabitants have lived in harmony. For our present purpose we need only now to follow out the story of the great region beyond the river Vaal.

In 1877, twenty-five years after its independence, the Transvaal Republic seemed to have come to ruin. The Kaffirs under Sikukuni had routed them in the North, and the Zulus' well-drilled regiments under Cetewayo were about to enter the country from Natal. The treasury was reduced to twelve and six-pence, and the farmers would pay no taxes. They were not averse to forays on the natives with all the excitement and cattle-plunder, but they hated to pay for any prolonged campaign. The danger was that the natives would not stop with the conquest of the Transvaal, but would override also the rest of South Africa. In this strait the British government sent Sir Theophilus Shepstone as commissioner to Pretoria to study the troubles on the spot, with powers to annex the republic if he thought best. He proclaimed the annexation. The President protested formally, but the people made no active resistance. Their chief feeling seemed to be of relief that they could depend upon England now for protection from the hostile tribes.

Here was another act among many where Great Britain did what seemed her inevitable duty, but did it without sufficient tact. There seems no question of the sore straits in which the Transvaal was found, and that British protection, if nothing more, was necessary to save the white man's interests in all South Africa. And if Great Britain was to bear the whole burden, it was only right that she should have power to control the political policy. If she had

waited a little longer until the burden of bankruptcy and defence from the savages had become irresistible, it seems to all human foresight as if the Boers must then have sued Great Britain to do just what she did—accept the responsibility of the situation with the political power that goes with it, and protect the land as her own.

The Boers, I have said, made no resistance. But the English were slow to set up the local self-government they had promised—not from any thought, so far as appears, of not doing it sometime, but from a natural delay when government is carried on from so great a distance as London. Canadian confederation was a somewhat recent thing, and the hope of accomplishing something similar in South Africa was in many an English mind. European statesmen, moreover, were intensely occupied then with the Russian-Turkish war, and the control of Constantinople. Still, home-rule was not forthcoming, and temporary military rule was naturally autocratic. Taxes were collected firmly. It is curious to read to-day, in view of how the Boers treated the Outlanders afterwards, of the great objection the Boers made then to British rule—that they laid taxes without granting representation.

Finally, the British committed a serious indiscretion in the light of worldly wisdom. While the Boers were complaining of taxes and loss of independence, Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir Bartle Frere led two British expeditions successfully against the hostile natives and then withdrew their forces. Kruger and Joubert had been in England during Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian campaign, and they knew how he denounced the Conservatives for what he called, in the fervid oratory of that campaign, their high-handed annexation of the Transvaal. They had hoped that when he came to power he would set them free with their debts paid and their black foes beaten. When they found, however, that he treated the annexation as an accomplished

fact and let it stand; and when they saw that the hostile tribes had been defeated, and all had been gained from British rule which they had hoped for, they rose in insurrection, invaded Natal, overwhelmed the few British troops that were left there and won the victories of Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill.

This was in 1881. Sir Frederic Roberts was sent out from England with troops, but before he could get to work the government agreed to a convention restoring the internal independence of the Transvaal. This was reaffirmed in the London convention of 1884. Equal rights for British residents and protection for the natives were guaranteed, and a veto upon the foreign policy of the republic was reserved to Great Britain.

British South Africa and British army circles were indignant at what they called surrender. The government at London, however, feared that the war would spread so as to call in all the Dutch in Cape Colony and the Free State as well as the Transvaal, and become a war of races, Dutch against English, in all South Africa. Moreover, these African possessions with their interminable petty wars had always been an annoyance and a great expense to Britain. There was a certain plausibility in the claim of the Transvaal that she had been annexed without her positive assent. In view of the ever-present possibility of European war, and the probability of entering upon enormous military operations in South Africa, the British government might well have questioned then whether all of South Africa was worth the suffering and cost. The Boers, however, saw nothing in England's scruples but cowardice. From this time onward they treated the British as inferiors, planned to be wholly independent of them, and even to drive them and their language out of all South Africa. To this end they organized the Africander Bond in 1881.

The discovery of rich gold deposits in the Witwatersrand

followed in 1885. Immigrants rushed in, bought the gold lands at prices that made Kruger and his associates rich, founded and built the city of Johannesburg, and soon changed the balance of things so much that the new-comers outnumbered the old inhabitants, and surpassed them many times over in property. With all this new wealth subject to taxation, the government found its revenues increased twenty-five fold—or from $900,000 to $22,000,000. Knowing the old Boer's prejudice against taxation, it laid new burdens where they would trouble him least—on dynamite, which was little used except by the new miners, on railway transportation of coal for their steam power, on the imported bread-stuffs on which the miners fed their native workmen, and on machinery for working the mines. The new revenues provided a salary of forty thousand dollars for President Kruger, liberal emoluments for his foreign-born advisers, and a secret-service fund that ranged from $200,000 to $1,000,000. Twelve million dollars appeared to have been loaned within a few years to officers of the government, without security or explanation, and not returned. The largest use of this great revenue, it is known at last, was for war-material.

The Transvaal had suddenly become rich from the industry of the new-comers. The latter were largely gathered together in Johannesburg and paid nine-tenths of all the taxes of the whole country. They needed water-supply, sewerage, street lights, pavements and proper police, as in other cities of that size; independent courts of justice, and the right to plead in English, especially when both parties to a suit were English; schools where their children could be taught in English, the universal language at Johannesburg; restraint upon the sale of liquor to the natives; and local town-government. Remember that they were already more than a majority of the white inhabitants of the whole Transvaal. All these things were refused to their petitions,

and in their stead a fort was built at their expense to dominate this discontented population of Johannesburg, and heavy guns were ordered from France and Germany.

In 1892 the Outlanders organized the Transvaal National Union to agitate for reform—as we should do under like circumstances—"to obtain by all constitutional means equal rights for all citizens of the republic and the redress of all grievances;" and among the aims of the Union they included "the maintenance of the independence of the republic." When the Union presented a petition to the Volksraad, praying for a reform of grievances, signed by thirty-eight thousand Outlanders, one of the members of the Raad contemptuously declared, with the seeming approval and the merriment of the others present, that if the strangers wanted to get what they called their rights, they would have to fight for them. The Unionists bought a few arms, with very little secrecy, but none, as it proved, in comparison with the great magazines of the Boers, and all the while they only asked for reforms within the republic, not for independence nor for British rule. They had no military organization, equipment or drill sufficient for serious war. They were not even united as to their policy. Some, no doubt, would have liked to annex the Transvaal to Cape Colony, or to have it a separate colony of Great Britain. Many would have liked to form an Africander confederation of all South Africa. Some had fears that some other European power might be called in by the Transvaal to take the place of the English paramount power. But so far as it is easy to tell now, the chief desire of most of the members of the National Union was simply reform in the administration of the republic without any wider political change, and this is all that their programme called for.

While the Union was still deliberating, at the close of December, 1895, a force of 500 police of the British South African Company, under the lead of Dr. Jameson, started

from Pitsani (not very far from the famous Mafeking), to march to Johannesburg to help the looked-for rebellion. How this hot-headed action came to be taken has never been satisfactorily explained to the world at large, but every one knows how disastrous it was to the hope of reform or of revolution. The Union was not decided or ready to act in arms, and Dr. Jameson's little force was arrested. The British High Commissioner for South Africa disowned the movement and the British Home Government disowned it. Sometime it will be known who was responsible for the raid. At present we have little but unproved charges. We know that the troops were not British soldiers, nor led by officers acting under British commissions, nor authorized to enter the Transvaal under the British flag. If Mr. Kruger claims that the Raiders and Unionists were all one, he should remember that George III also thought ill of the American farmers at Lexington and Bunker Hill, who had similar grievances to the Outlanders. He should recall the Declaration of Independence: "That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends (the unalienable rights of man), it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it."

We cannot deny, however, that the Jameson raid was a political crime. Its infinite folly is patent now to everybody. It gave to Kruger the pretext to say that the National Union, and even the British Cabinet, sought to gain its ends by force and not by reason, and it alienated the sympathies of all of Dutch descent throughout South Africa. The folly of this raid is like the blowing up of the Maine, which stirred up so much passion that diplomacy had to give way to war. Of itself alone this incursion of a little squadron into a country where all the men were armed and drilled, was little more than a mosquito's buzz. Like John Brown's raid, its effect was chiefly spectacular.

So the Jameson Raid brought the agitation of the Na-

tional Union to naught, and a reform movement which had grave and hopeful reasons for peaceful, constitutional action, perished miserably from somebody's rashness. The causes of the Union remained more urgent than ever for the Outlanders, and President Kruger's party saw plainly that the natural growth of the strangers by immigration must sooner or later make them irresistible unless the most strenuous efforts were made to keep them from political power. Subsequent events have shown how well the government used the next five years and the great resources of the new taxes to prepare the Transvaal for war. German and French officers were employed for advice and military instruction. The newest artillery and rifles were bought in quantity sufficient to arm every man of Dutch descent in all South Africa. Tireless negotiations urged the whole Dutch race to rise against the British everywhere when the time should be ripe. The secret-service fund supported diplomacy in Europe and influenced the Continental press to attack England in every way and to present a sentimental view of the Boer cause.

The strangers found themselves in bad plight. We may say that time was fighting for them, their numbers and wealth were growing, Kruger, their strongest adversary, was already an old man, and there had always been a small party of the Boers ready to grant reform if asked for peaceably. On the other hand, the courts of law, their only protection hitherto, had been robbed by the Raad of all independent existence, and everybody was living in discomfort and danger to health and life from want of water-supply, sanitation, street lighting and paving, and restraint of the sale of liquor to the natives. The police were ignorant of English, the language everywhere spoken. The mine-owners needed to make great outlays for machinery to work the mines at lower levels, but were afraid to do it before the political troubles were settled. Children were

growing up untaught, except as they were sent to private schools. Impatient of trusting their deliverance to the slow progress of time, 21,600 British subjects in the Transvaal petitioned the Queen of England to secure reform of their grievances and a recognition of their rights as British subjects. Sir Alfred Milner, the British High Commissioner, was sent to Bloemfontein and had a formal conference with President Kruger. The main remedy asked by Sir Alfred was admission to the suffrage for all white residents of five years in the Transvaal, upon renouncing their former citizenship, and representation in the Volksraad for the Johannesburg district, where most of the Outlanders lived, but limited so that the new-comers could number no more than one-fourth of the Raad. The details of this negotiation and of the subsequent diplomatic correspondence are too intricate to follow here. But the result of it all seems to be that whatever Mr. Kruger seemed to grant, he surrounded with such conditions as to make it practically inoperative. Suddenly, in October, 1899, President Kruger sent an ultimatum to Great Britain to withdraw her troops from the frontiers within forty-eight hours; and immediately thereafter the army of the Boers invaded British Natal.

It would appear to have been the hope of the Boers to sweep swiftly over the British provinces down to the coast before the British army could be raised and transported over the sea. But the little British army on the spot was able to defend Ladysmith, Kimberly and Mafeking, and hold back the Boers until Lord Roberts arrived with his army from England.

We are told that the Boer is defending liberty against the Briton. Liberty for whom and for what? It is not claimed that the Boer is interested in the liberty of the native Africans whom he found in occupation of the land when

he entered and conquered it, and whom he has raided, plundered and carried into forced labor during all the time of his occupancy. The Kaffirs and other natives within the Transvaal boundaries are said to number ten to every Boer —to make no account of the natives in the adjacent lands. Whether these natives are exactly in the condition of slavery, or are in some less absolute form of enforced subordination, it is not claimed that they bear any part in electing the government or framing the laws of the Transvaal, or are ever taken into account when the rights of the people are spoken of. The Boer's idea of liberty is something for the Boer and not for the Kaffir; for himself and not for his ten aboriginal neighbors. Without considering at this moment what most of us call the wrong of slavery, for I know it is disputed that existing facts will fully justify that name, what is the basis of this republican franchise—this liberty which the Boer is defending? Are all the inhabitants represented as human beings, or are they represented as our American slaves used to be represented in our Southern states before our Civil War—merely as a basis for voting by white men; or are they not represented at all?

A pertinent retort at this point would be—whether the British would be likely to give the suffrage to the native Africans if they should prevail. The answer to this question would naturally be that very likely few, if any, natives would be given the ballot at first; but English history shows that the Africans would never more be held in slavery nor any longer have their political ideas developed by the rhinoceros-hide whip which sets them thinking now. The story of British rule in India and in Egypt in these late years, tells us how they are likely to treat the aboriginal Africans. Whatever wrongs the English-speaking peoples have been guilty of in their past dealings with less fortunate races—and we cannot call them guiltless—it is ever to be borne in mind that Great Britain emancipated all her

slaves two generations ago, and the United States did the same a generation later. Judging from what the British did in Cape Colony, we may believe that the blacks would be treated with equality and humanity under the law, and the suffrage would eventually not be based on color.

If the Boers are not fighting for the liberty of the aborigines, who are ten to one of their population, they certainly are not fighting for the liberties of the foreign immigrants who have come among them in these late years—the Outlanders, who already are double the number of the native Boers. So if we consider the aborigines as ten parts of the population, and the Boers as one part and the Outlanders as two parts, the Boers are only one-third of the white population and one-thirteenth of the total population of the Transvaal. To us Americans who are used to universal suffrage, these figures are disquieting. It is not as if we found a test of education, equally applied to all men in the land, but yet so high as to disfranchise twelve out of thirteen until they should qualify themselves by study in the free schools. Nor is it even a property qualification which men might reasonably aspire to satisfy by labor and self-sacrifice. It is the Dutch branch of the Germanic race refusing an equal vote to the English branch of the same race without regard to knowledge or condition. It is the awful test of race or color without regard to worth.

I have treated as nothing a certain limited right of citizenship now existing; for it depends upon fourteen years of residence and many perplexing conditions before it is granted; and finally it depends upon the will of the President. Such a whimsical privilege is not what we call a right of suffrage in America.

While this political liberty for which the Boers are fighting seems to be more limited than it is with us, we turn our eyes to another aspect of liberty—religious liberty.

The Boers are Protestant Christians like many of our-

selves, but Protestants of the type of two or three centuries ago, when stern and forbidding interpretations of the Old Testament had more influence over men's minds than the gentler doctrines of the New Testament. They are of the type of Protestant that is called to mind when we read of the Scotch Covenanters, or the Puritans of Salem. They are an archaic survival of intolerant days. Their British opponents, on the other hand, whether they are Irish or English Catholics, or Scotch Dissenters, or English churchmen, are religionists of to-day, liberalized by the mellower influences of the nineteenth century. When the Boer talks of religious liberty he does not mean the full equality of all religions before the law; he does not mean freedom and equality for the Catholic or the Jew. He is thinking of that narrower and more forbidding type of liberty which permitted our ancestors in Massachusetts to persecute Quakers and Baptists.

If the Boers' idea of political and religious liberty is not exactly what we are used to in modern times, what can we say of intellectual liberty among them? In some ages of the history of the human race, when men have almost despaired of freedom, the human mind has, nevertheless, been allowed to soar aloft from the scholar's chamber until it found freedom and serenity in the near contemplation of truth and knowledge. But have we any reason to believe, from any books or utterances that have come to us from the Transvaal, that intellectual liberty is an ideal that has anything to do with these troubles in South Africa?

Liberty in the Transvaal, I am afraid, means liberty for Boers to do what they please with their own; liberty to hold the native races in cruel bondage; liberty to tax and conscribe all immigrants without allowing them a voice in the government; liberty to leave themselves untouched by the taxes they lay upon aliens and blacks. The Boer is not fighting for the American ideal of political liberty; nor for

the modern ideal of religious liberty; nor for the German ideal of intellectual liberty. Our Puritan poet has said it, "License they mean when they cry liberty."

In talking of liberty we of the United States have often sinned in talking as if there were little liberty in the world outside of our own country. Unhappily, our public schools have often helped to form and solidify this delusion. The majority of our children end their schooling at the point where they have studied something about American history and American institutions, but little about English history and institutions out of which their own have developed, and positively nothing about the free cities of Europe in the Middle Ages, the French Revolution, and the growth of freedom and constitutional government outside of America in modern times. We have lived a singularly isolated national life. To the great body of our school children the word Republic stands for freedom, and Monarchy for despotism. Therefore, when they heard that the British empire was opposed to the South African republics, they felt the case was clear. Liberty was threatened by despotism and all the dry details of the issues between the two countries were superfluous. So the first impression of the native American citizen has been much influenced by the names Republic and Empire.

Disregarding, then, these words, let us ask, which of these two governments really deserves our sympathy? Which is the more democratic, the less absolute? Which of the two stands for our beloved Lincoln's ideal of "government of the people, by the people, for the people?" Which comes the nearer to the heights of our Declaration of Independence?

The government of Great Britain is somewhat familiar to us all. We have seen her suffrage steadily extended, and the powers of the House of Commons constantly enlarged and those of the Crown and the Lords cut down.

The whole British system is more complex than our own, for English liberty has always been a growth, an amendment of former things, and not a new creation, and an old system amended is not so simple and beautiful as a newly created scheme. They did things differently in France, where the Revolution destroyed all former government and created a new system on philosophical lines—even writing ten days into the week and discarding the old-time reckoning of the Christian era. It is needless to say, however interesting we may find the story of French reform, and however much we may confess the world owes to the thoroughgoing methods of the French Revolution, we nevertheless proceed generally in our own affairs in the way of English liberty, and reform the old things more than we build up new ones on ideal plans. But as we started out anew in our own country, and our constitutions were drawn up by singularly gifted men, we had the advantage of the new start and simplified a host of things. Still, I say, British liberty and American liberty have proceeded on almost parallel lines, till Great Britain is practically as free and democratic as we are.

What do we find to be the case in the South African Republic? I have already tried to show how its political and religious liberties differ from ours. Let us see how it stands the test of our Declaration of Independence. It may not be modest for us Americans to cite the early clauses of that charter, "that all men are created equal," for it is only for one generation that we have lived up to that ideal. But it certainly is the duty of the friends of the Boers in Europe to apply this standard as well as that other one of "liberty, equality, fraternity." Does the Transvaal believe that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed?" Surely this does not say that one Boer should make laws for his two English neighbors who have at least as much intelligence and property

as himself without their consent. Does it apply to itself our indictment against George III that he "obstructed the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither;" that "he has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices;" that "he has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance;" that "he has given his assent to acts of pretended legislation for imposing taxes upon us without our consent."

Consider further what kind of courts and judges the South African Republic thought satisfactory for a free people. Let a single example suffice. The Transvaal had had a constitution since 1858, making the courts independent of the Raad and prescribing certain formalities and limitations upon the Legislature, and the Supreme Court had repeatedly declared laws to be void because at variance with the constitution. But in 1897 the Raad passed an act (Law No. 1, 1897), regardless of these constitutional provisions, declaring that all resolutions of the Raad are law and must be enforced by the courts, and the judges must take a new oath to decide accordingly. The act further directed the President to demand of the judges to say whether they considered themselves bound by their oaths to treat all resolutions as law without considering their constitutionality, and to dismiss them if their answers were not satisfactory. This revolutionary act, advised and enforced by the President, violated the constitution and left the Supreme Court subject to the ever-changing wishes of the Legislature. In accordance with this resolution, Kruger interrogated and then dismissed Chief Justice Kotzé of the Supreme Court.

Ought our sympathies to go out to the Boers because they are developing their country for the best good of mankind, or even for their own best good?

It is now about sixty-five years from the "Great Trek"

of the dissatisfied Dutch into the wilderness. They have occupied their land as a great pasture-land. They have accumulated great flocks and herds. But they have made only moderate progress in agriculture, and none in manufactures and commerce. Their largest city, Pretoria, has a population of 12,000 people. The city of Johannesburg, built and inhabited by foreigners, with a population of 100,000 souls, is hardly to be counted as a sign of their progress, for it grew up without their care and protection, and was chiefly prized by the Boers as a good subject for taxation. The rising wealth of the Transvaal and the existence of Johannesburg sprang out of the gold mines; but their development was not attempted by the Boers themselves, but was due to the energy, skill and capital of the British and other Outlanders. In the rest of the Transvaal the usual signs of prosperity and civilization are lacking. Prosperous cities with good schools and colleges, aqueducts, sewers and fire departments, good roads and cheap transportation—these and other signs of progress are wanting. Their great herds of cattle and horses, like similar wealth on our western plains of America, are only the forerunners of a more thrifty agriculture that may perhaps come by and by, but has not come yet. Their greatest evidence of accumulated wealth was hidden sedulously from the Britons; it consisted, apart from the sudden fortunes of the ruling clique, of monstrous stores of munitions of war, hundreds of cannon from the factories of Creusot, and Krupp, and 150,000 Mauser rifles—enough for many times their whole military population. While Great Britain was encouraging Canada and Australia in the freest home-rule, building railways throughout India, making Egypt blossom like a garden in freedom and peace, the Transvaal was taxing industry, mining and transportation to the limits of endurance, only careful to levy taxes where they would reach Outlanders best and Boers least. The great revenues so

raised were put into war-materials, large salaries and an enormous secret-service fund. Johannesburg contributed most of this wealth. It might go without sewers or proper schools, while its death-rate was three or four times that of New York, but the guns must be had without fail. The discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand gave the Boers a chance to show what they could do to develop the land. They invited immigration. They sold their gold-bearing lands to the new comers. They made no effort to develop the mines for themselves. In truth, the nature of the gold mines called for experience and capital to make them pay; and they had neither the money nor the skill nor the patient industry to work them. Their railways they allowed to pass into foreign ownership, also, content to submit to enormous rates of toll so long as most of the freight and passage money was paid by the foreign developers of their industries.

Can it be claimed that the Boers were developing their land to the best advantage in educational and spiritual things? I have already spoken of their religious ideals as very different from those we are used to praise; and progress in educational things, so far as I have ever read, has never been claimed for them. It was in Johannesburg, not in the Transvaal generally, that Mr. Bryce found the roughs to be few, and educated men unusually numerous.

But we are told that an ethnical development of the Dutch South African people would be of the greatest interest and value to mankind; that their ancestors for centuries had occupied South Africa, and that these people ought to follow out their interesting experiment to the end without foreign interference. Did our American ancestors a century or two ago think the same of the French who had founded thriving colonies in the New World? Did we leave to them the control and occupation of the Mississippi valley? Did we let them keep their fortress of Louisburg,

and all their possessions in Canada? Did we then lie awake nights to foster the ethnical development of the American aborigines who were making war upon us? It seems to me we have always acted on the principle that we should hold the land because we should best develop it for the good of mankind; and that all who chose to remain and share the land with the victor must conform to his broad ideas of liberty. The Indian's right to scalp our women and children, or any man's right to hold another race in slavery, we have not in latter days assented to. We do not need to go all the lengths of the imperial idea in order to say that men, and nations too, have a right to fight for equal rights and liberty, even in foreign lands. In the same spirit we may also say that the race development of Boers or any other people is not a gain for the world if it must be had at the expense of those lofty ideals for which Americans and Frenchmen were ready to die a century ago in the American and French Revolutions.

But if this last view is not satisfactory, and it still seems a pity that the Boers could not be left to develop themselves indefinitely in their own way, what have we to say about the Kaffirs? They are still very ignorant and down-trodden; but they would like to be left to develop themselves on their forefathers' hunting grounds, to harry and tax and perhaps to eat intruders, and to shut out the doctrines and ways of the European. Is not the Hottentot's ethnical development also a sacred thing? The Boer and the black man are each desirous of holding the land for himself. Both are hostile to equality and liberty. The black man got there first; the Boer is the stronger. Does military strength give a better moral right than first possession? But if a stronger military power enters the land, what moral claim can the first dispossessor have except just this—that he has ruled the land in justice, equality and light? If he fails to show himself thus in the right, how can his own former aggressions

on the land be forgiven? How can his piteous cry to be let alone be respected?

The real causes of this African war are not on the surface. Great Britain seemed to be demanding a revision of the franchise from a state which she had made independent of her in such internal affairs. The Boers, on the other hand, talked passionately of liberty, while liberty in their mouths was not our American model any more than their enemies of the present war resemble George III.

Great Britain was really seeking for protection and equal rights for her subjects in a foreign land in vital matters of health, education, civilized life and equality of burdens, and she asked for their enfranchisement as the best means to that end. Her people had been invited by President Kruger, by advertisement in a London newspaper, to seek their fortunes in the Transvaal. Its constitution declared that "the territory is open for every foreigner who obeys the laws of the Republic." The conventions of 1881 and 1884 gave British subjects the right to live there, own land, carry on business, and not be taxed otherwise than the burghers. They were solemnly promised equal protection and no difference in privileges so far as burgher rights are concerned. The laws at that time granted citizenship upon two years' residence. These promises were practically broken. They were allowed only comforts and privileges of ages ago. Their pretended equal taxation was a fraud; taxation only touched the things that concerned the strangers. They wanted the ordinary things of modern, urban life, and were paying for them enormously. But they saw their taxes spent in European intrigue, and in powder and guns—all in hate of themselves and their mother-country.

British diplomacy demanded a more liberal suffrage for the strangers and a minority representation in the Volksraad, not exceeding one in four. Speaking technically, it

ought rather to have demanded a redress of the specific wrongs, as of taxation, sanitation, etc. But who knows that the demand would not have taken that correct technical form if the negotiations had not been suddenly broken off by the Boers' declaration of war?

It takes a very literal lawyer to insist that the British demand for suffrage was inadmissible when all parties knew in detail the grievances this suffrage was intended to redress. Therefore, we have a right to recognize that the Outlanders' material wrongs are what Great Britain based her demands upon. Kruger tacitly admitted it by discussing the extent of the franchise he would grant.

And yet we must confess that it was a mistake to put the demands upon apparently untenable grounds, for it allowed the enemies of Britain to say she went beyond the law and was trying to pick a quarrel without cause.

But these wrongs which the strangers complained of were on the surface. Down in the depths were the reasons why the Boers were willing to treat the Outlanders harshly. Slavery has been discussed already; it seems to many the chief cause of all the trouble. English and Dutch, being closely akin by race, ought not to have lived together in South Africa without a complete fusion of race such as happened in New York state between the same races. But the African Dutchmen, living mostly a different life from the Europeans, acquired characteristics of their own, and it was as if two different centuries had run against each other. In Cape Colony, Natal and the Free State, the two elements were uniting well before the Jameson Raid, when a distinct wrong was committed on the British side—little as the government may have been responsible for it. But in the Transvaal there was no such fusion. The Boers remembered the emancipation and their Great Trek; and living in the solitude of ranchmen, they brooded over their injuries. The blacks were always with them, and the British mission-

aries and officials interfered with treating them as they chose. So the passion which caused the Great Trek was never cooled. Injudicious haste in introducing the English language was another cause of trouble. The conquered people were sensitive to mistakes, neglects and wrongs. In 1877 came the annexation of the Transvaal—a hasty act that seemed at the time unavoidable for the sake of both white races; and the British slowness in granting the Boers a local government, until they rose in revolt and achieved some little victories. After this came the British cession to the Boers' arms of what they had neglected to give in fulfillment of their promises. This surrender was a grand psychological error. The Boers despised the British for it. The British colonials also nursed a sense of betrayal and disgrace undeserved and unatoned for. Later came the discovery of the rich gold-fields of the Witwatersrand, and the vast growth of the Transvaal revenues—wealth without labor and seemingly limitless. Whether the Volksraad became corrupt, as is freely charged, we cannot know. But the acknowledged uses of the vast receipts were a gross outrage. The corrupting effect of a flood of wealth that came without labor is what Professor Naville of Geneva considers the chief cause of the war:—"It is above all a question of money—of gold." * * "This independent political life for which the Transvaal is pouring out its blood, of what does it consist," he asks, "and what has it produced? Only two things: oppressing the blacks and overreaching the strangers."

Yet no one, Boer or Briton, need despair for the future, if Great Britain prevails. The New York descendants of the Dutch have had full influence and ample honors. So will it be in Africa. Under British administration the material development of the land will make the old residents prosperous. Personal liberty will blossom everywhere. Christianity will produce better fruit from the self-sacrific-

ing lives of devoted missionaries. We of the English language cannot help feeling that as our language spreads over the land, freedom and civilization will go with it.

Worcester, Massachusetts,
June 1, 1900.

Extended remarks were made on the subject by F. P. Goulding, Esq., and on motion of Charles R. Johnson, Esq., a vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Green for his valuable paper.

SKETCH OF E. J. ROCKWOOD.

READ AT THE MAY MEETING, 1898, BY THOS. A. DICKINSON.

Within a year and four days three men have died in this county whose places cannot easily be filled. They lived at a time and under conditions when it was much easier to gratify their desire and ability for collecting Indian relics and articles of historic value than will fall to the lot of any collector of these articles at the present day. They all have left large collections of Indian implements of great value and of local interest.

George F. Daniels of Oxford died April 12, 1897.

Elias J. Rockwood of Worcester died March 27, 1898.

David F. Lincoln of West Brookfield died April 16, 1898.

Before speaking of Mr. Rockwood I wish to say a word about Mr. Lincoln of West Brookfield, who took a deep interest in the museum of this Society, and has added to its collection several articles of local historic value.

He has been present on some of our field days, the last time at Acton. His picture is among the group photographed by Mr. Darling on that day.

An obituary notice of him appears in the *Springfield Republican* of April 22, 1898.

His collection was chiefly a local one, found in Brookfield and vicinity, and contained many rare and curious Indian implements.

Elias Jefferson Rockwood was born in Holliston, Mass., August 19, 1833. He died in Worcester, Sunday, March 27, 1898, and was buried in Hope cemetery.

He was a descendant in the eighth generation from Richard Rocket, who settled in Dorchester in 1636. Rev. Abner Morse, in his history of Sherborn and Holliston, 1856, says that the name was spelled Rocket on the town records until 1728, when Dea. Nathaniel Rocket of Wrentham, and brothers, restored the original spelling of Rockwood.

Mr. Rockwood's ancestors, some of them, were prominent soldiers in King Philip's war. His grandfather, Capt. Moses Rockwood, died in Holliston in 1854. He was the only son of his father, Moses, and inherited his integrity, industry and tenacity of life.

He was six feet and four inches tall.

When eighty years old his memory was unimpaired. In early life he embarked in trapping in the then unbroken wilderness of western New York, learned the language of the Indians, and many a long evening did the writer, Mr. Morse, in his boyhood listen with delight to the history of his romantic adventures.

Very likely the subject of this sketch inherited from his grandfather, Capt. Moses, his interest in Indian life, and in collecting Indian implements. His grandfather left him many choice Indian relics, found on his farm in Holliston and in that vicinity, which formed the nucleus of Mr. Rockwood's collection.

His father, Calvin Rockwood, a farmer in Holliston, owned at one time one of the best farms in Holliston, if not the best in Middlesex county.

Elias left home at an early age and first traveled with a Daguerrean saloon. He was an all-round man, and could turn his hand to most anything where there was work to be done.

He married Dec. 5, 1857, Eugenia P. Cheney, and came to Worcester the following year, 1858. He built the first house on Coral street, where he lived until his death, and launched the first sailboat seen on Lake Quinsigamond, which he had built by a boat-builder in Hopkinton.

"The amount of game to be found in a given locality depends largely on the keen eye of the hunter." Mr. Rockwood had the faculty and a keen eye for finding Indian relics in places considered barren by others. He had studied the habits of the Indians, knew where they

would be likely to camp, and on the seashore where to find their shell heaps.

He was a good sailor, and spent many of his vacations in Buttonwood, R. I., where he had a sailboat, and was always considered a safe and reliable navigator (skipper) to take parties down the Providence river.

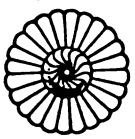
In June, 1896, an exploring party consisting of Prof. Putnam and four of his assistants from the Peabody museum in Cambridge—John C. Crane, Richard O'Flynn, Charles A. Moore, Mr. Rockwood and myself—visited the ancient soapstone quarry in Bramanville, Millbury, where we spent the day. It was through Mr. Rockwood's untiring exertions that many valuable specimens were found. More than sixty objects, including fragments of soapstone vessels and picks, were found that day, some of them five feet below the surface.

Mr. Rockwood became a member of this Society in July, 1887, and was generally present at our meetings when he was in town, his business oftentimes calling him away from home.

In 1896 he was present at nine meetings, including the Indian meeting, when he exhibited some interesting specimens from his own cabinet, giving a description of the same. He had a live interest in our museum. The labels show many valuable and rare articles contributed by him. He has left a valuable cabinet of Indian implements—valuable because they are largely local, collected by himself in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

His acquaintance with other collectors enabled him to procure valuable specimens outside of New England. His collection as it stands to-day, all arranged by himself, is one of the largest and most complete in the county, and was valued by him at one thousand dollars.

The Angelus.



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FALL TERM BEGINS AUG. 29.

Send for Free Catalogue.

The trip was in every way an enjoyable and profitable one, with no serious mischances to mar it; and to the committee who arranged the programme, and carried it out so ably and well, every one who participated owes the sincerest thanks.

At 8.05 A. M. our party left the Union Station, Worcester, for Boston, via the B. & A. R. R., being composed of the following seventy-nine persons:

Hon. E. B. Crane, Judge and Mrs. William T. Forbes, Hon. Stephen Salisbury, Mr. and Mrs. M. A. Maynard, Mr. Daniel Seagrave, Mr. George M. Rice, Mrs. Cyrus G. Wood, Miss Gertrude Wood, Miss Louise Wood, Miss A. M. Moore, Miss Sawyer, Mr. and Mrs. George E. Barrett, Miss Emma S. Barrett, Mr. and Mrs. C. F. Darling, Mrs. E. A. Morse, Miss Carrie M. Morse, Miss Cora L. Morse, Mrs. T. S. Johnson, Mrs. E. T. Raymond, Mrs. C. M. Vickery, Mr. George E. Arnold, Mr. George Maynard, Mr. and Mrs. F. E. Williamson, Mrs. A. R. Parsons, Mrs. H. A. Hovey, Mr. C. Wallis, Mr. H. V. Pettibone, Mr. and Mrs. F. E. Kimball, Miss A. M. White, Mr. H. H. Dayton, Mrs. R. A. Thwing, Mrs. Hattie T. Smith, Mrs. William H. Harrington, Mrs. M. J. Weatherbee, Major and Mrs. William T. Harlow, Miss Margaret Harlow, Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Eaton, Mrs. E. J. Brittain, Mrs. M. E. Rollins, Miss M. E. Adams, Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Whittemore, Mr. and Mrs. C. A. King, Dr. Helen A. Goodspeed, Dr. M. V. O'Callaghan, Mrs. T. A. O'Callaghan, Mrs. M. E. Randall, Miss Anna M. Wiley, Dr. and Mrs. C. A. Peabody, Mr. O. B. Hadwen, Mr. Nathaniel Paine, Mr. L. A. Ely, Mr. A. K. Gould, Mr. Jay Gould, Miss M. A. Smith, Miss M. E. Grover, Hon. Ledyard Bill, Miss Lucy S. Bill, Miss Bertha E. Bill, Dr. F. E. Banfield, Dr. and Mrs. T. C. Mendenhall, Mr. C. C. Baldwin, Miss Grace T. Baldwin, James Green, Esq., Mr. Thomas S. Green, Mr. David Casares Galera, Mr. Primi-

tivo Casares Camara, Mr. David Casares Camara. (The last three gentlemen being residents of Merida, Yucatan, and now guests of Hon. Stephen Salisbury.)

At Boston, our party was also joined by Miss Charlotte A. Maynard.

We arrived at the south terminal in Boston at 9.06, and taking two special electric cars of the Boston Elevated Street Railway Co. were soon speeding towards our destination.

Passing through Boston, within full view of the historic gilded dome, we crossed the Charles river to Cambridge by way of the magnificent new Harvard bridge, from which a most delightful view of the broad river and the cities on its shores is obtained.

The historic associations of our route now began to come home to us, for yonder, across the waters, rose against the clear June sky, the lofty shaft on Bunker's height, telling its immortal tale as the generations pass. And yonder is where the British landed on the night of April 18th, 1775, to commence their ill-fated march towards Lexington and Concord.

Crossing into Cambridge, we soon pass the fine buildings of Harvard College on our right, and leaving the ancient Common, near which stands the Washington elm, on the left, we went on through North Cambridge to Arlington.

We were now upon the track of the British march, and soon had our attention called to the fact by stone markers along the highway indicating the points of interest by suitable inscriptions. Among these we especially noticed the site of the house of Jason Russell, who, with eleven others, was here surrounded and slain by the British, on their return from Lexington. It was interesting to know that among our party was one lady, Mrs. H. A. Hovey, who was a great-great-granddaughter of the old hero. We also noticed the site of the Black Horse Tavern, where the Committee of Safety held its meetings in 1775.

Arriving at Arlington Heights at 10.20, we took electric cars on the Lexington & Boston Street Railway for Lexington. As we disembarked to make the change, we were met by Rev. Carlton A. Staples, pastor of the First Unitarian Church of Lexington, and an honored member of this Society, who kindly welcomed us, and to whose untiring efforts in our behalf during our entire visit we owe a profound debt of gratitude. His thorough knowledge of Lexington's early history, and of the events which have made the town famous, combined with his genial manner, made him an ideal guide amidst these scenes of the past.

As we neared the village, we noticed on our left the Earl Percy House (the Munroe Tavern), built in 1695, and which, on the 19th of April, 1775, was Earl Percy's headquarters, and also the hospital where the British wounded were attended to,—some of the local traditions relating to the latter event being perhaps slightly exaggerated. A little further on, a cannon, carved from granite, and a large tablet, mark the spot where, on either side of the road, upon slight eminences, Percy planted his cannon, and swept the street and Common of Lexington, during the retreat of the redcoats.

The railway company had generously proposed to carry our party the whole distance of their line, and so we passed through the village, by the historic Common, and a mile beyond, to North Lexington, and then back to the Town Hall, where we alighted at 10.50, and entering the building were escorted to the hall.

At Lexington our party was joined by Mr. Frank E. Blake, of Boston, a member of our Society, who kept us company during the rest of the day, and with his carriage rendered valuable assistance in carrying elderly members of the Society over our route.

After our party were seated in the hall, Mr. Staples ascended the platform and gave us a welcome, and an in-

formal talk upon Lexington history, substantially as follows:

It is a great pleasure for me and for the members of our Historical Society to see you here to-day. The weather to-day is such a relief from the heat and dust of the past few days that one might almost think it was sent for your especial benefit.

It has been thought best that I should say something about what transpired here 125 years ago, and which gave great fame to this town, and which introduced the War of the Revolution. In doing so, I shall occupy your attention but a few minutes.

There is an account, which some of you may have read, of two men who were sent out from Boston, prior to the battle, by General Gage, to see if it would be expedient to march troops to Worcester. They got as far as Watertown, but a colored woman there detected them. One of them, however, managed to escape, and pushed on to Worcester, which place he only reached after the greatest difficulty, and on his return to General Gage, he finally reported that 10,000 men could not get through to Worcester. Gage therefore decided not to make the attempt, but he determined to make a demonstration. So he planned this excursion out to Lexington and Concord.

John Hancock and Samuel Adams were here, having come out on the afternoon of the 18th of April to stay over night. Hancock was at that time paying attentions to Dorothy Quincy, who was visiting here, and he and Adams spent the night at the old house where we shall go very soon. The object of the expedition was not only to overawe the patriots, but to arrest Hancock and Adams.

During the afternoon there had been gathered on the Charles River a large number of boats for the purpose of transporting the British troops across the river, and strange as it may seem now, the landing where the troops

entered them was where the Providence passenger station now stands. About 10 o'clock that night they started, and crossing the river landed at what is now East Cambridge. Thence they came by the direct road to Arlington (then known as Menotomy).

In the meantime Paul Revere had surmised what was going on. He and William Dawes were to ride out and alarm the country. When he saw the preconcerted signal lights in the Old North Church, he rode out through Medford. He arrived here at 12.30 at night, and immediately went up to the house where Hancock and Adams were staying. After rousing them, he went out and met Dawes, and they were soon joined by Dr. Prescott, and the trio started for Concord. Prescott was, however, the only one who arrived there; Revere and Dawes having been intercepted by the British a few miles out of Lexington. His arrival at Concord saved the stores there, and was really the means of the defeat of the British, and their hasty retreat. Dr. Prescott had come to Lexington on a visit to a Miss Mulliken. So you can see that two young ladies had much to do with the events of the following day.

The British force arrived here at 4.30 in the morning. The minute-men under Captain John Parker were then on the Common. Before the British reached here, they heard the alarm being rung from the old belfry, and they came in on the run. Our men were from six to ten rods from them. Pitcairn rode ahead, ordered them to disperse, and fired his pistol. He then ordered his men to fire, and seven men fell dead or mortally wounded.

In the afternoon, during the British retreat, Pitcairn was thrown from his horse and lost his pistols. They afterwards came into possession of General Putnam, and were finally given to the town of Lexington. General Grant, during his visit here, offered a thousand dollars for them.

Here on the wall hangs a picture of what occurred on the Common, painted by the artist, Henry Sandham, who spent two years in his work. In that picture the apex of the Common fronts towards Boston. On one side of it you see the old Butman Tavern. The light seen in the picture is supposed to represent the breaking of day. The man on the horse is Major Pitcairn. A good deal of this picture is ideal, but still the artist tried to do his best to make the scene real. This man with the gun in his hand is supposed to represent a man by the name of Hastings, who when he heard the alarm, was at home milking his cows. He told his boy to finish the milking, and look after things at home, while he went with his musket to the Common to join the patriots. Soon after his arrival there, he was surprised to find the boy beside him, having come from home musket in hand.

In this picture the men appear to be close together, and it would seem as if a volley fired at close range must have killed or wounded them all; but in fact they did stand at quite a distance apart, and the artist has simply been compelled to group them more closely on account of the size of the painting. That man with his fist drawn up appears to be *swearing*, but of course we do not know.

This gathering of a few untrained farmers on a common to face a battalion of six or eight hundred British soldiers was really a foolhardy thing. Of course they stood no chance there against their enemy, and they had to retreat and fire upon the British from behind stone walls along the highways. One British statesman complained to Dr. Franklin that it was unfair for our men to get behind stone walls as they did. Dr. Franklin replied: "But wasn't there another side to the stone walls?"

In a few hours, minute-men were pouring in from the country towns. It is always supposed that Boston was the great centre of this revolutionary spirit; but the country

towns had much of it. The British found the country all alarmed when they got to Concord. All that saved them from total destruction on their retreat was the arrival at Lexington of the reinforcements sent out under Earl Percy. Our men intercepted the British at Arlington, and eleven Americans were killed there.

This, then, is the story in brief. The stand here was a foolhardy movement that no sensible man can explain, any more than he can that other foolhardy enterprise of fortifying Bunker Hill in the face of the overpowering British force. It was nothing but their spirit, and the egregious blunders of the British, that saved the Americans there from total annihilation. Still, though that action was counted as a defeat, it was really a victory, for it was the opening of the conflict that brought on the War of Independence.

The spirit that was in our people then, was shared by men and women alike. I have showed you the house where Jonathan Harrington lived. When the alarm came, his mother went and roused him, saying: "Jonathan, get up! The British are coming, and *something has got to be done!*"

After Mr. Staples' address, and the answering of a few questions asked by members of our Society, the party adjourned to the library, where they viewed the large and interesting collection of relics there preserved. Among these are several engravings by Amos Doolittle, representing the scenes of April 19th, 1775, including the fight on the Common, the British marching into Concord, and the scene at the Old North Bridge. These are believed to be the oldest engravings made in this country.

One may also see here a portrait of Earl Percy; a photograph of the famous Hayward powder-horn; a plate that Gen. Washington once dined from at the old Munroe Tavern; interesting old manuscripts, and life-size statues of Hancock and Adams; also, commemorative marble tablets in

honor of those who fell on the 19th of April, 1775, and of the Lexington soldiers in the Civil War.

Here is also a bust of General Bartlett, whose parents lived in this town. There is also a portrait of Mrs. Carey, who founded this library, and who was born in this town, her maiden name being Maria Hastings. The library now contains 18,000 volumes.

After visiting the library, the party proceeded to the Common, stopping first to view the fine bronze statue of the minute-men, which was dedicated on the 19th of April, this year, and which was erected from a bequest made by Francis B. Hayes, a wealthy resident of Lexington, who died suddenly in London. He willed $10,000 to Lexington for a public fountain. The committee reported this design of a minute-man standing on a granite base composed of rough field rock. The design has been somewhat criticized, but still appears to be in excellent keeping with the place and with the character of the men it commemorates. This monument stands at the apex of the Common, fronting towards the road up which the British marched, and the minute-man stands with musket in hand, as if watching for the approach of the foe.

A short distance in the rear of this stands a solid granite marker on the spot where the first three meeting-houses of Lexington successively stood, built respectively in 1692, 1713, and 1794. The latter was burned in 1846. The building of Revolutionary times stood till 1793, and then it was torn down. At the time of the battle, the town's supply of powder was kept in this meeting-house, and when the British came, a man was sent into the building to get some of it, but the enemy fired at him and killed him. Several of their shots went into the Marrett Munroe house nearly opposite.

Near this site stands a small elm tree, which was set out here by General Grant during his visit at the Centennial

celebration in 1875, but at present it appears to be dying, though great care is taken to preserve it. On two occasions vandal hands have attempted its destruction, and were nearly successful, showing a phase of human nature which is unpleasant to contemplate.

Near the northwest corner of the Common lies a large granite boulder placed here to mark the line of the minute-men on the 19th of April, 1775. On one side of it has been chiseled a powder-horn and musket, beneath which are cut the words used by Captain Parker to his men: "Stand your ground! Don't fire unless fired upon. But if they mean to have a war let it begin here!" It is related that in after years one of the survivors of that eventful day, who was a better patriot than grammarian, on being questioned about the matter at some gathering here, verified the speech of his commander by saying, "*Them is the very words Captain Parker said.*"

Just west of the Common stands in perfect preservation the house of Jonathan Harrington, from which his wife watched her husband as he fell pierced by a fatal bullet. Dragging himself back to his house, he fell dying upon the threshold at her feet.

Our party now passed up Hancock street, and visited the old Hancock house, built in 1698, and enlarged in 1734, the residence for fifty-five years of Rev. John Hancock, and afterwards of his successor, Rev. Jonas Clark. The house formerly stood on the other side of the street, but some years ago, as the owner refused to sell the land on which it stood, it was removed to its present location by the Lexington Historical Society, and fitted up as a kind of museum and depository of Revolutionary relics, and is kept open for the reception of visitors. Since its opening, the records show that 8,000 people have visited it. Many schools visit Lexington to study the opening history of the Revolution.

The building itself is a great curiosity, with its diminutive rooms, ancient woodwork and hand-made clapboards and nails. It contains the valuable collection of the Lexington Historical Society. This house is not only notable for its Revolutionary memories, and being the home of Lexington's early pastors, but also because many people of literary fame have been in some way connected with it. Here were born the children of Rev. John Hancock, two of whose sons became noted divines, and another of whom was afterwards the richest merchant in New England. Not less than twenty-six ministers had their origin here, and many other men of note, including the Ware family, well known in literature. Here it was that John Hancock and Samuel Adams spent the night before the Battle of Lexington.

Among the interesting relics preserved here are portraits of Dorothy Quincy and John Hancock, and of Rev. John Hancock and his wife; the old lantern of Paul Revere; saddle-bags used by Surgeon Joseph Fisk at the surrender of Louisburg; a cannon ball picked up in Lexington; musket used by Hammond Reed on Lexington Common; woodwork from the pulpit of old Brattle Street Church in Boston; a piece of cloth taken from the grave of a British soldier in Cambridge some years ago, on which can be seen stains of the first blood shed in the Revolution; also several interesting relics of the Civil War.

After leaving the house, we crossed the street to the original site of the building, to take a look at one of the finest elm trees in the state, which is of great size, and for symmetry of form is almost unequalled. The tree is said to have been set out by Rev. Jonas Clark, 140 years ago, and its huge branches, spanning a wide area, touch the ground on all sides. Its girth is about sixteen feet.

At 1 o'clock our party were escorted to the First Unitarian Church, near the Common, where the ladies of the

society had provided an excellent dinner in the vestry, to which their guests did ample justice.

After the dinner, the party visited the first monument erected on the Common in commemoration of the events of April 19th, 1775, and here they were photographed in a group by Mr. C. F. Darling, who also made numerous other photographs of interesting places during the day.

When our party had gathered around the monument, Mr. Staples briefly recounted its history, saying that the slight elevation upon which it stands was the site of the first school-house in Lexington, and was originally known as School-house Hill. The men who were killed in the battle were originally buried in the old cemetery, but on the sixtieth anniversary of that event, in 1835, their remains were disinterred and reburied in a vault in the rear of this monument, the monument itself having been erected by the state in 1799.

Upon the shaft is an inscription which has been much admired. It is from the pen of Rev. Jonas Clark, of whom Bancroft says in his history of the United States that if you wish to understand the character of the people of those days, you must read the writings of Jonas Clark. Mr. Clark left behind him a manuscript diary, three volumes of which are still in existence, one of the peculiarities of which is that he made an unusually free use of exclamation points,—the more extraordinary the statement, the greater the number of marks; and this peculiar usage of them is perpetuated on this monument.

During Lafayette's visit to this country, in 1824, he was received in front of this monument, there being at that time present fourteen survivors of the battle. It was here, also, that Louis Kossuth was received, May 11, 1852.

The old Common was somewhat neglected during the early years of the century, but is now kept in excellent condition by the town, and regarded as a very sacred place,

and during the year a great many people come here to visit with delight this scene of the Revolution's opening conflict.

After inspecting the monument, the visitors adjourned once more to the First Unitarian Church, where a short time was spent in resting and in admiration of the beautiful building erected in 1846.

Meanwhile, Mrs. H. G. Locke kindly entertained them with some excellent music from the fine organ; after which Hon. E. B. Crane, President of our Society, expressed its thanks for the courtesies tendered us during the day, at the same time alluding to the sadness he felt in contemplating the fact that of the seventy-seven of its members who visited the place twelve years ago, more than twenty had since passed away. He said that the work of these two societies is in the same line, and it is well for them to cultivate friendly relations. The Battle of Lexington was just a half-way place in the history of this nation, from the early settlement of the colony to the present day.

Mr. Daniel Seagrave then moved that the thanks of our Society be tendered to Mr. Staples and to the members of the Lexington Historical Society for the attention they had shown us, and to the ladies of the First Unitarian Church for the excellent repast they had provided us. The motion was seconded by Mr. M. A. Maynard, and was passed by an unanimous vote.

Rev. Carlton A. Staples, pastor of the church, then expressed the gratification the Society's visit had been to himself and his people, saying that some visitors came to Lexington as a matter of mere curiosity, and others to study its history. The Lexington people always especially welcomed those who appreciated the place. In conclusion, he said he hoped the Society would not wait another twelve years before repeating their visit. He hoped they would come often and stay long. His remarks were followed by applause.

The next point of interest to visit was the old cemetery in the rear of the church, where lie in their long sleep the early dead of this historic town, including many names of more than local note.

Here reposes the dust of John Augustus, of whom Mr. Hoar has said that his name ought to be cherished as one of the benefactors of mankind.

Here are buried Rev. John Hancock and his wife.

Not far away is the tomb of Governor William Eustis, who was a surgeon in the army during the Revolutionary War, and who was afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, and also Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of the Netherlands.

Here, also, is a fine granite monument erected in 1884 to the memory of Captain John Parker, the hero of the battle, whose place of rest remained unknown for many years, but was finally identified by an aged lady. He died in September, 1775.

Rev. Benjamin Estabrook, Colonel William Munroe, and Dr. David Fisk, the first physician of the town, are also buried here.

One large slab in the cemetery records the names of six children of the Childs family, who died within two weeks, in 1778, one of the facts which go to show that a century ago infant mortality was very much greater than it is to-day. The oldest stone noticed in the cemetery was dated 1696, though probably there are others still older.

Leaving the cemetery and passing down the south side of the Common, by the ancient dwelling, an inscription upon which reads: "House of Marrett and Nathan Munroe. Built 1729. A Witness of the Battle," the party visited Belfry Hill, on which now stands the quaint old unpainted wooden belfry, from which, on that April morning, the alarm was rung, which was heard by the advancing British, and caused them to quicken their pace into a run, as they en-

tered the village. The belfry was originally erected on this hill in 1761, and removed to a position near the church in 1763. In 1797 it was removed to the Parker homestead in the south part of the town. In 1891 it was brought back to this spot by the Lexington Historical Society.

Our party now came back to the Common, where, at 4 o'clock, they took leave of their Lexington friends and started on their return trip to Boston, feeling that their time had been well spent in the five hours of our stay here.

Lexington is a place which may be profitably visited more than once in one's life, and those of us who had been there before were fully as delighted with our present trip as those who came for the first time. Beautiful by nature and enriched by art, the town and village would be well worth a visit, even if they had no historic interest.

In itself, the battle fought there 125 years ago would have been of but slight importance in the world's history. Hundreds of conflicts in which more men were engaged, and which resulted in more loss of life and property, have well nigh passed into oblivion, remembered only by a passing line on the page of history; but the far-reaching consequences of the fight on the 19th of April, 1775, have given to the name of Lexington a world-wide and enduring fame.

Had the patriots of that day faltered in the presence of superior numbers, and retreated without making a show of resistance, who can calculate the difference in the progress of the world to-day? All honor to the heroes of that field of fame, and as the feet of generations yet unborn shall wend their way thitherward, may it be to gather new inspiration for high and noble deeds!

On our party's arrival at Boston, the members separated, the larger part of them coming home to Worcester on the 6 o'clock train, while others returned on later trains, but so far as your historian is aware, they all reached Worcester

in safety, well pleased with the success of their enterprise, and feeling that we might well mark it as another red-letter day in the history of this Society.

For the Committee,
GEORGE MAYNARD.

President Crane read the following prepared by Mr. Benjamin J. Dodge:

REUBEN RAWSON DODGE.

Mr. Dodge was the son of Jacob and Elizabeth Rawson Dodge of East Sutton, Mass. He was born April 3, 1819, and died August 24, 1899. After leaving his father's farm, he was employed in Boston, Cambridge, Grafton and Shrewsbury, as a carpenter for twenty years, after which he purchased a farm in Sutton, on which he lived for over forty-three years, where he brought up his family of six children, all of whom except one are still living. They are H. W. Dodge of Saundersville, Mrs. Charles M. Holland of Woonsocket, R. I., Mrs. Henry L. Newton of Shrewsbury, Fred A. Dodge of Saundersville, and Lucius R. Dodge of Milford. As this farm was one of the largest in town he employed considerable help, carrying on this with parts of some of his neighbors' farms, besides doing an extensive wood and lumber business.

In politics, Mr. Dodge was always a Republican.

He married Lydia H. Wood of Nantucket, Mass., Sept. 13, 1853; she died Jan. 6, 1899.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Dodge had been active members of St. John's Episcopal Church of Wilkinsonville for forty years, to the time of their death; during most of this time he was either warden or vestryman of the parish. He was a delegate to nearly every convention of the diocese for the last thirty years, and assisted in electing Bishops Paddock,

Brooks, and Lawrence. Among Mr. Dodge's ancestors was Richard Dodge, who came from England and settled in Salem, Mass., in 1638, and who was one of the most liberal contributors to Harvard College of that period, and a highly educated man. On his mother's side he came, as a direct descendant, from Edward Rawson, who was third Secretary of Massachusetts Bay Colony from 1650 to 1686, during which time he wrote all of the colony records.

On his maternal side, he was also a descendant of the Chases; Bishop Chase, founder of Kenyon College, being own cousin of his mother.

Mr. Dodge spent much time in the last sixty years of his life collecting history and preparing family genealogies.

He was possessed of strong physical powers of endurance, and generally succeeded in whatever he undertook to do.

In 1897 he collected and published an historical sketch of the Leland Hill and Old Stone School Districts in Sutton, and in 1898 he published a pamphlet which was favorably received, containing the names and inscriptions on gravestones of six Sutton cemeteries, there being over 1,100 names recorded.

Mr. Dodge was an active member of the Society of Antiquity until within a few years, when on account of failing health he felt compelled to withdraw, but did not discontinue his contributions to the Society till near the end of his life. B. J. D.

The work of the Society in marking sites of historical interest was introduced, and Hon. Alfred S. Roe in speaking referred to the preliminary steps that had been taken towards marking the site of the birthplace of Hon. George Bancroft, the historian, and displayed drawings of the old Bancroft house and a proposed marker; Hon. Stephen Salisbury said it

was a subject that appealed to all, citizens as well as members of historical societies, and the project of marking all historical sites should be carried into effect, and he was sure the American Antiquarian Society, of which Mr. Bancroft was a member, would do its part to carry out the proposed plan.

Mr. Samuel S. Green expressed his desire to assist in the work and favored the appointment of a committee sufficiently large to include all associations interested. On motion of Mr. Roe, it was voted that a monument be placed on or near the site of the homestead of Hon. George Bancroft, and it was further voted on motion of Mr. Roe that a committee of two be appointed to retire and report a list of persons representing the various societies interested in placing the monument, the same to be elected as the Executive Committee with power to act and to proceed with the work.

The committee reported the following:

For the American Antiquarian Society: Hon. Stephen Salisbury, Nathaniel Paine.

Worcester Society of Antiquity: Hon. E. B. Crane, Major F. G. Stiles.

"Colonel Timothy Bigelow" Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution: Mrs. C.Van D. Chenoweth, Mrs. Daniel Kent.

"Bancroft" Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution: Miss Catherine M. Bent, Mrs. George H. Harlow.

"Worcester" Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution: Hon. Alfred S. Roe, Charles T. Tatman.

Worcester Members of Massachusetts Society, Sons of the Revolution: Samuel S. Green, Rev. Charles L. Short.

George H. Ward Post 10, Grand Army of the Republic: Stephen C. Earle, J. B. Stone; and they were duly elected.

THE TRUMBULL MANSION, MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE.

Dodge, Mayor of Worcester; Dr. T. C. Mendenhall, President of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute; Miss Harriet Ward of Shrewsbury.

Letters of regret were received from Hon. G. F. Hoar, Rev. A. S. Garver, Rev. A. H. Vinton, Hon. F. A. Gaskill, Hon. C. T. Davis and Hon. Samuel Utley.

At 2 o'clock P. M. the company assembled. The door and casings had been removed from the unfinished front entrance in order to set the ancient threshold on which had been carved the dates of its three establishments. Nathaniel Paine, Esq., who, as Miss Trumbull's kinsman, represented her and acted as master of ceremonies, opened the proceedings as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have been requested to call you to order for a few minutes before the more formal exercises of the afternoon. It is purposed to relay the original stone threshold with some remarks on the reconstruction of this mansion. I will call upon Mr. Stephen C. Earle, the architect who has had charge of the erection of the present house, to say a few words in regard to it; after which the threshold will be placed in proper position by Mr. Rochefort, who has superintended the work of rebuilding.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE SECOND COURT HOUSE.

By Stephen C. Earle.

The old court house of Worcester county, built in 1751 on Court Hill, was in 1801 moved to Trumbull Square, adapted to the uses of a dwelling, and became the Trumbull

Mansion. This year of grace, 1900, finds it on this its third site on Massachusetts Avenue, and still the Trumbull Mansion.

In considering the task of restoration, it is difficult in after time to determine where the original ends and the new begins, and in our study of the building in this latest reconstruction, many interesting questions as to what pertains to the first building and what dates back only to the removal a hundred years ago are still unanswered.[1] We are assured by credible authorities that the materials, form and dimensions of the original building were not changed at the time of the first removal. In the recent operations, form and dimensions of this original have been scrupulously adhered to, though with the addition of an extension at the rear, and a side porch and entrance, side terrace and front porch, as adaptations to present uses. The old materials have been used so far as possible. Much of the frame is necessarily new, as is all the outer covering. The old timbering of the roof may be seen in the unfinished attic, with many a hand-wrought nail still visible; and there are also the curiously arched heavy beams that gave the form to the vaulted ceiling of the old court room. The doors, the mantels and most of the wainscot of the old court room are in the room as rebuilt. The front door also bears its old brass latch handle.

Other interesting articles have been collected from contemporary buildings, among which are a latch from the Bancroft house and two from the house of Rebecca Nourse, Salem, one of the unfortunate victims of the witchcraft

[1] That the Court House was always two stories high, and that the court room was in the second story, seem to be proved by the construction of the frame-work of the building. Each corner post was a single piece seventeen feet high, and the heavy floor-girders of the second floor were framed into the main girths by mortise and tenon in a way clearly impossible at any other time than when the frame was originally put together.

horrors. Many of the door knobs are from the old Isaac Davis house on "Nobility Hill." The east parlor mantel is from the house of Pardon E. Jenks, one of the first settlers in Pawtucket; while the wainscot in this parlor and the mantel in the bed-room above came from the Eliza Haven house in Portsmouth, built about 1745. The wainscot in the main hall is from the first Rutland parsonage, built about 1723 for Rev. Joseph Willard, who, before his installation, was killed by the Indians in the massacre of that

There still remains to mention the stone threshold which we are now about to set at the main entrance. It is thought to be the original one, and as such has been inscribed with the three dates:

MDCCLI

MDCCCI MDCCCC

The threshold was put in place by Mr. Lezime Rochefort, representing Mr. C. A. Vaughan, the

builder. The guests were then invited to assemble upstairs in the old court room for the formal ceremonies of the day.

In opening the exercises Mr. Paine said:

I have been requested by our hostess, Miss Susan Trumbull, to call this gathering to order and to extend to you all a hearty welcome to this house and this historic room. Miss Trumbull and her niece, Miss Cogswell, have taken great interest in the reproduction, so far as was possible, of the old mansion, occupied for so many years by their ancestors. The original building, for many years located at Trumbull Square and known as the Trumbull House, was first erected on Court Hill in 1751 for the use of the county of Worcester. It was removed to Trumbull Square in 1801 or 1802, and taken down during the past year. It was occupied soon after its removal from Court Hill by Dr. Joseph Trumbull, grandfather of our hostess. Dr. Trumbull removed from Petersham to Worcester in 1803 and occupied the house till his death in 1824, when George A. Trumbull, father of Miss Trumbull, became the occupant.

Mr. G. A. Trumbull married Louisa Clap, of Greenfield, and they resided there for many years, Mr. Trumbull dying in 1868 and Mrs. Trumbull in 1885.

Daniel Clap, uncle of Caleb Clap the father of Mrs. G. A. Trumbull, was a prominent man in Worcester just after the Revolution, holding the office of register of deeds for Worcester county from 1784 to 1816, and of course was familiar with the court house. He built a substantial house at the corner of Main and Park streets, which was at one time occupied by Hon. James Putnam, a noted lawyer, and one of the Worcester loyalists. Judge Charles Allen also lived for many years on the same spot.

But it is not my purpose to give an acount of the old

house or its occupants, as this will be done more ably by others.

Miss Trumbull had, since the conception of the restoration of the old mansion, hoped to have had present at its completion her sister, the late Mrs. William S. Lincoln, but it was ordered otherwise.

Mrs. Lincoln was the first child born in the house after its occupancy as a dwelling; her presence would have brought us in close connection with the original occupants, and her recollections of those early days would have added greatly to the interest of this occasion.

All who had the pleasure of an acquaintance with Mrs. Lincoln hold her in affectionate remembrance and join with our hostess in regrets that she could not have been permitted to be with us to-day in these dedication exercises.

Miss Trumbull, having in mind the part taken by the Worcester Society of Antiquity in preserving materials for the history of Worcester, has invited the members of that society to be present to-day and take an active part in the ceremonies. A committee of that society having in charge the marking of historic places in Worcester, purpose to mark in an appropriate manner this room, formerly used as the court room, in which we are now assembled.

I will call upon the Hon. E. B. Crane, president of the Society of Antiquity, to respond for that society.

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.

By Ellery B. Crane.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—I desire on behalf of the Worcester Society of Antiquity to extend to Miss Trumbull the thanks of the individual members for her kind invitation to be present on this exceedingly interesting occasion. It is indeed a relief to those interested in antiquarian subjects to find a person with the disposition and with the means at hand striving to perpetuate in some tangible form a few of the links that serve to bind the present with the past. In these modern times of great activity the tendency is to tear down and destroy all that bears the marks of age. The old must give way to the new in the onward march of progress. Of course we are in favor of and expect progress. That we know is natural and inevitable, and we would not block the wheels if we could. But now and then let us have something retained for preservation that shall tend to remind us of the past. Therefore I repeat: It is refreshing to find such a person as Miss Trumbull with the means and disposition striving to preserve this grand relic, not only of the Revolutionary period, but dating back even beyond that time. One of the tasks assumed by our society is to seek out and mark historical spots in Worcester. We have a committee instituted for that purpose, and this is the second spot where the society has been called upon to affix, through that committee, its stamp of recognition. Our first was in front of the present City Hall, where the Declaration of Independence was first read in Massachusetts by that noble patriot and celebrated printer and publisher, Isaiah Thomas. We have a long list of places yet to receive our attention. They will be taken up as fast as we can find means to carry on the work. I am not here to give an historical account of this Trumbull mansion; there are others to follow me who have carefully prepared papers

telling the interesting story of its origin, use and migrations. I assure you, however, that the members of the society it is my privilege to represent are proud of the opportunity to be present and to perform their humble part in the exercises of this memorable day.

THE SOCIETY'S COMMITTEE ON MARKING HISTORIC SPOTS.

By Daniel Seagrave.

Recognizing as an event in the history of Worcester county the reopening of the Second Court Room and the house in which it is located, the Worcester Society of Antiquity feels honored by the invitation from our friend, Miss Trumbull, to take a part in the exercises attending the same.

The work of the society for the past twenty-five years, or during its entire existence, so far as its limited pecuniary means would permit, has been to preserve the memorials of the past by its museum and its extensive collection of books, pamphlets, etc.; and by its Committee on Marking Historic Spots to perpetuate the history of events, of buildings and of sites, by designating the same with suitable and appropriate inscriptions.

It was a happy thought that prompted Miss Trumbull, the granddaughter of one of Worcester's worthy and honored citizens of a century ago, to second the efforts of our society in the preservation of the Second Court House and the Court Room in which justice and mercy as well were meted to the wayward and erring in the days of yore.

As the representative of the Committee on Marking Historic Spots of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, I place upon one of the original doors of entrance to the Court Room of 1751, this plate, which bears the following inscription:

THE COURT ROOM
OF THE
SECOND COURT HOUSE
OF
WORCESTER COUNTY.
ERECTED IN
1751

ON THE SITE OF THE NORTH WING
OF THE PRESENT COURT HOUSE ON
COURT HILL AND OCCUPIED UNTIL

1801.

This date is affixed by the Worcester Society of Antiquity, 1900.

May it long remain in this place to tell the story of this ancient building.

Mr. Seagrave then affixed to the southeast door of the court room a beveled brass plate 4¼ inches square, engraved in old script by G. T. Lindfors.

Mr. Paine said:

Worcester is fortunate in having a gentleman who is especially interested in preserving, by means of manuscripts, photographs and newspapers, facts of local history which might otherwise be lost to future students.

He has kindly consented to tell us something about the second court house in Worcester and the early history of the room here reproduced.

I take pleasure in introducing Mr. Benjamin Thomas Hill.

Mr. Hill spoke as follows:

THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND COURT HOUSE AND THE EARLY BAR.

By Benjamin Thomas Hill.

On August 8th, 1732, the Court of General Sessions of the Peace passed an order authorizing the erection of a suitable and convenient Court House, and appointed a committee to superintend the building. The Court decided that it should not exceed 36 feet in length, 26 in breadth, and 13 in height; and that it should be placed on land given to the county for that purpose by William Jennison, Esq., one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas. This tract of land is described as being about one and a half rods wide at the south, four rods at the north, and twenty rods in length. John Davis, in his address at the centennial of the incorporation of the county, in 1831, says: "It was situated in front of the Court House and the buildings of the late Mr. Thomas,[1] and lay wholly within the street. On this site, which was then wholly covered with brush, and nearly inaccessible, the house was erected, though not without opposition, for many were of opinion that the common was more convenient, as the principal roads concentrated there." Until this building was finished, the courts were held in the Meeting House.

The County of Worcester was incorporated April 2nd, 1731, O. S., and the first court to be held in the county was the Court of Probate, John Chandler, judge, on July 12th of that year.

By the General Commission for the Peace for the County of Worcester, signed by "Jonathan Belcher, Esq., our Captain Generall and Governour-in-Chief in and over our said province at Boston, the thirtyeth day of June, 1731, in the fifth year of our reigne," and beginning, "George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain, France and Ireland,

[1] Isaiah Thomas.

King Defender of the Faith, etc.," thirteen justices were appointed "to keep our peace in our County of Worcester within our province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. * * "[2] At their first meeting, August 12th, John Chandler, Jr., Esq., was appointed Register of Deeds, and Jonathan Houghton, of Lancaster, County Treasurer.

There were three cases tried before this first Court of General Sessions of the Peace: Philip Chase, of Sutton, and others, came into court and complained that Solomon Johnson, of Shrewsbury, Gent., struck him in the face and spoke insulting and threatening words; whereupon said Solomon Johnson was "judged to be Guilty of the Breach of ye Peace in Striking Said Chase and using threatening words and thereupon it is ordered for Said Offense he pay as a fine to Our Sovereign Lord the King, &ct., Twenty Shillings, and for his Said Rude and Insulting Behaviour he also pay as a fine to our said Lord the King the sum of fourty shillings. * * "

The second case was similar.

The third was that of John Hazeltine, for "Selling Strong Drink to ye Indians Contrary to Law."

The next tribunal was an "Inferiour Court of Common Pleas," which had jurisdiction in civil matters, and consisted of four justices appointed by the executive authority: John Chandler, of Woodstock, Chief Justice, Joseph Wilder, of Lancaster, William Ward, of Southborough, and William Jennison, of Worcester. Daniel Gookin, Jr., was the first sheriff.[3] At the opening of this court, on August

[2] John Chandler, Joseph Wilder, William Ward, William Jennison, Daniel Taft, John Chandler, Jr., Benjamin Willard, Samuel Wright, Josiah Willard, Joseph Dwight, Samuel Dudley, Henry Lee and Nahum Ward, Esqrs.

[3] This Court continued with little change until the Revolution. Its proceedings were as simple and brief as those of the Court of Sessions, and its forms of pleading, though following but little the technical stiffness of English precedents, were generally plain and sufficiently

10th, 1731, the Rev. Mr. Prentice of Lancaster preached a sermon from the following text: "And said to the judges, take heed what you do; for ye judge not for man but for the Lord, who is with you in judgment. Wherefore now let the fear of the Lord be upon you, take heed and do it; for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons nor taking of Gifts."

The Superior Court of Judicature, having a general supervision over all these county courts, held its first session here on the fourth Wednesday in September, 1731; the justices present being Benjamin Lynde, Chief Justice; Paul Dudley, Edmund Quincy and John Cushing.[4] At this term were present fifteen grand jurors, of whom Jonas Rice was foreman, and twelve petit jurors, of whom John Hubbard was foreman. The court affirmed four judgments of the Common Pleas—passed an order on a petition for partition—tried one indictment and on the 23d adjourned without day.

The Court House was opened on February 6th, 1734, when an address was delivered by John Chandler, of Woodstock, in which he says:

"We are now entered into a new and beautiful house, erected purposely for the reception and entertainment of the courts. * * An article that I know not the like in any county in the province so soon after the constitution there-

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intelligible. After the suspension of the Courts from June, 1774, to December, 1775, the Provincial Congress appointed a new list of judges. On the adoption of the Constitution, it was established on its original basis by an act of the Legislature, and continued until 1811, when the system of County Courts was abolished and the Circuit Court of Common Pleas was established. In 1820 this latter Court was superseded by one Court of Common Pleas for the whole state.

[4]The Chief Justices of this Court in the last century were Benjamin Lynde, 1731-40; Paul Dudley, 1740-51; Stephen Sewall, 1751-60; Thomas Hutchinson, 1760-69; Benjamin Lynde, 1769-71; Peter Oliver, 1771-75; William Cushing, 1775-89; N. P. Sargent, 1789-91; Francis Dana, 1791-1806.

of, it being but about thirty months since we held our first court."[5]

Previous to the Revolution there were but few lawyers who resided in the county, most of those who practised in our courts coming from other places, travelling with the judges on their circuits. Among them were many men distinguished in their profession and in the political history of the province:

John Read, called by James Otis "the greatest common lawyer this country ever saw;" Richard Dana, of Charlestown and Boston; William Brattle and Edmund Trowbridge, of Cambridge; Robert Auchmuty, the elder and younger, and Benjamin Kent, of Boston, for several years the minister in Marlborough; Governor William Shirley; Timothy Dwight, of Northampton; Jonathan Sewall; John Adams; and Caleb Strong, of Northampton, afterwards Governor of the Commonwealth.

In less than twenty years this first Court House was found to be too small, and on March 16th, 1751, a new building—the one beneath whose rafters we meet today—was ordered to be built. This was 36 feet by 40, and according to Wall,[6] stood a few feet northwest from the former.

Beyond the mere fact that this room in which we are was the court room, and that it follows the original lines, with its slightly arched ceiling, we know nothing of the arrangement of the building; we can only conjecture where the court and bar sat, and where the jury was placed; that the first floor was used for the Clerk's Office, the Registry of Deeds and the Probate Office. But we *do* know that there was much form and ceremony on the bench and at the bar at this time. The judges of the Superior Court maintained their standing more by their personal influence

[5] Boston Weekly Rehearsal, Feb. 18, 1734.
[6] Caleb A. Wall: "Reminiscences of Worcester."

and political connections, than by any official qualifications. "Whenever they went on their circuits, there was a kind of royal emanation accompanying them that gave them a consequence in the eyes of the people."[7] When they approached the town, the Sheriff, with the principal citizens, met them at the boundary and escorted them to the Court House. Judge Sewall, describing his journey from Cambridge to Springfield in 1698, says that a guard of twenty from Springfield met them at Quaboag,[8] and saluted them with the trumpet as they alighted. It must have been an impressive sight as the Court, in scarlet robes, with wigs and bags, preceded by the Sheriff of the County and the Clerk of the Courts, and followed by the Barristers in their robes of black silk, with wigs and bags, entered the room.

John Adams gives the best idea of the state and manners of the courts before the Revolution, in a letter to Mr. Tudor, in which he describes the court before which the question as to granting "writs of assistance" was argued in 1761, in the Council Chamber in Boston:—

"In this chamber near the fire were seated five Judges, with Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson at their head as Chief Justice, all in their new fresh robes of scarlet English cloth, in their broad bands and immense judicial wigs. In this chamber were seated at a long table all the Barristers of Boston, and its neighboring County of Middlesex, in their gowns, bands and tye-wigs. They were not seated on ivory chairs, but their dress was more solemn and more pompous than that of the Roman Senate when the Gauls broke in upon them."

Court weeks were then the great festivals of the year, occupying, I should judge, much the same position that the annual cattle show did sixty or seventy years ago. Jockeys flocking to Worcester from all parts of the county,

[7] Washburn's Judicial History of Massachusetts.
[8] Brookfield.

THE COURT-ROOM RESTORED.

of Timothy Bigelow, the patriot blacksmith, built in 1750. It was to the cellar of this house that Isaiah Thomas, with the aid of Col. Bigelow and Gen. Joseph Warren, on the night before the battle of Lexington, brought his printing press from Boston, and from which, on the third of May, he issued the first number of the Massachusetts Spy. Across Mill Brook, on Chandler Hill, was the large farm of John Chandler. On the old Boston road was the old jail, and a few rods beyond, the house of Timothy Paine, which still stands, the sole relic we have of that time. To the south of the Court House, where State Street now is, lived William Jennison. The old Heywood Tavern stood where the Bay State now is, and Thomas Stearns' King's Arms Tavern was on the present site of the Lincoln House. Beyond were the houses of Moses Rice, near the corner of Mechanic Street, of Judge John Chandler at the corner of Front Street, of the Rev. Isaac Burr and Major Daniel Ward.

In 1774 the disputes between the government and the people had nearly reached a crisis. A board of Mandamus Counsellors had been created by the King. The judges of the Superior Court were of this number, and, in view of this fact, and that Judge Oliver had accepted his salary from the crown, the jurors in Middlesex and Worcester refused to be sworn or to act at all if that justice attended the Court. As a result the Courts were closed, not to be opened again until December of the following year, when we enter upon a new era in the history of the Bar and of the Courts. There were other judges upon the Bench, and it was almost another Bar. "The change was striking," says Willard. "On one page in the records, we see the ancient order of names and cases, and on the very next a new system of things rises to view; and then follow the extensive confiscations of the estates of those whom, a few lines back, we found distinguished in the forum, and filling a large space in the community,"—the Chandlers, James Putnam, Tim-

othy Paine and Timothy Ruggles. General Artemas Ward was the only one of the justices of the Common Pleas who retained his seat, and there were but two members of the old Bar, Judge John Sprague of Lancaster, and Joshua Upham of Brookfield.

From 1731 to 1775 there had been but seventeen regular practitioners in the county: Joseph Dwight, of Brookfield; Nahum Ward, of Shrewsbury; Timothy Ruggles, of Hardwick; Joshua Eaton, Jr., Christopher Jacob Lawton, of Leicester; Stephen Fessenden; James Putnam; Abel Willard, of Lancaster; Ezra Taylor, of Southborough; Joshua Atherton, of Petersham; Daniel Bliss, of Rutland; Joshua Upham, of Brookfield; John Sprague, of Lancaster; Rufus Chandler; Daniel Oliver, of Hardwick; Nathaniel Chandler, of Petersham; Elijah Williams, of Mendon.

During the years of the Revolution nine new attorneys had begun to practice here:—

Levi Lincoln, admitted in Hampshire, was Clerk of the Courts in 1776, Judge of Probate from 1777 to 1781, Attorney General of the United States under Jefferson, Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth in 1807, and Acting Governor after the death of Gov. Sullivan in 1808; William Stearns and Daniel Bigelow, who were the publishers of the Spy for a time; Nathaniel Paine, Judge of Probate for 35 years; Nathan Tyler, Dwight Foster, William Caldwell, William Sever and Peter Clark.

We now come to the most interesting period in the history of this house—the part it played in the stirring scenes of Shays' Rebellion. Without dwelling upon the causes which led to that struggle, it is sufficient to say that the disaffection reached Worcester in the spring of 1784. In 1784 over 2,000 suits had been entered in the Court of Common Pleas, and about 1,700 the following year. That body was looked upon as the leading cause of distress, and its abolition was demanded. The first open opposition to this Court occurred at its session in September, 1786. The dra-

matic scenes at the threshold of this house are best given in the words of William Lincoln, in his History of Worcester:—

"Although warning of danger had been given, confiding in the loyalty of the people, their love of order, and respect for the laws, the officers of government had made no preparation to support the court. On Monday night of the first week in that month, a body of eighty armed men, under Capt. Adam Wheeler, of Hubbardston, entered the town and took possession of the Court House. Early the next morning their numbers were augmented to nearly one hundred, and as many more collected without firearms. The judges of the Common Pleas had assembled at the house of the Hon. Joseph Allen. At the usual hour, with the Justices of the Sessions and the members of the bar, attended by the clerk and sheriff, they moved towards the Court House. Chief Justice Artemas Ward, a general of the Revolution, united intrepid firmness with prudent moderation. His resolute and manly bearing on that day of difficulty and embarrassment, sustained the dignity of the office he bore, and commanded the respect even of his opponents. On him devolved the responsibility of an occasion affecting deeply the future peace of the community; and it was supported well and ably.

"On the verge of the crowd thronging the hill a sentinel was pacing on his round, who challenged the procession as it approached his post. Gen. Ward sternly ordered the soldier, formerly a subaltern of his own particular regiment, to recover his leveled musket. The man, awed by the voice he had been accustomed to obey, instantly complied, and presented his piece, in military salute, to his old commander. The Court, having received the honors of war, from him who was planted to oppose their advance, went on. The multitude, receding to the right and left, made way in sullen silence, till the judicial officers reached the Court House. On the steps was stationed a file of men

with fixed bayonets; on the front stood Captain Wheeler, with his drawn sword. The crier was directed to open the doors, and permitted to throw them back, displaying a party of infantry with their guns levelled, as if ready to fire. Judge Ward then advanced, and the bayonets were turned against his breast. He demanded, repeatedly, who commanded the people there; by what authority, and for what purpose they had met in hostile array. Wheeler at length replied: after disclaiming the rank of leader, he stated that they had come to relieve the distresses of the country, by preventing the sittings of courts until they could obtain redress of grievances. The Chief Justice answered that he would satisfy them their complaints were without just foundation. He was told by Capt. Smith, of Barre, that any communication he had to make must be reduced to writing. Judge Ward indignantly refused to do this; he said he 'did not value their bayonets: they might plunge them to his heart: but while that heart beat he would do his duty: when opposed to it, his life was of little consequence: if they would take away their bayonets and give him some position where he could be heard by his fellow citizens and not by the leaders alone who had deceived and deluded them, he would speak, but not otherwise.' The insurgent officers, fearful of the effect of his determined manner on the minds of their followers, interrupted. They did not come there, they said, to listen to long speeches, but to resist oppression; they had the power to compel submission: and they demanded an adjournment without day. Judge Ward peremptorily refused to answer any proposition, unless it was accompanied by the name of him by whom it was made. They then desired him to fall back: the drum was beat, and the guard ordered to charge. The soldiers advanced, until the points of their bayonets pressed hard upon the breast of the Chief Justice, who stood as immovable as a statue, without stirring a limb, or yielding an inch, although the steel in the hands

of desperate men penetrated his dress. Struck with admiration by his intrepidity and shrinking from the sacrifice of life, the guns were removed, and Judge Ward, ascending the steps, addressed the assembly. In a style of clear and forcible argument, he examined their supposed grievances; exposed their fallacy; explained the dangerous tendency of their rash measures; admonished them that they were placing in peril the liberty acquired by the efforts and sufferings of years, plunging the country in civil war, and involving themselves and their families in misery; that the measures they had taken must defeat their own wishes; for the government would never yield that to force, which would be readily accorded to respectful representations; and warned them that the majesty of the laws would be vindicated, and their resistance of its power avenged. He spoke nearly two hours, not without frequent interruptions. But admonition and argument were unavailing: the insurgents declared they would maintain their ground until satisfaction was obtained. Judge Ward, addressing himself to Wheeler, advised him to suffer the troops to disperse: 'they were waging war, which was treason, and its end would be,' he added after a momentary pause, 'the gallows.' The judges then retired, unmolested, through armed files."

The court was opened soon after at the United States Arms, and adjourned to the next day. The militia were ordered out, but they shared in the disaffection, and the officers could not muster their companies.

The insurgents guarded the Court House, which they used as barracks during the night, and at daybreak the leaders addressed the whole force upon the hill. They now amounted to 400, part of whom had firearms and part only sticks. They marched through Main Street with their music, but receiving no recruits from the citizens in answer to their invitations, returned to the Court House. Sprigs of evergreen had been distributed, and mounted as the dis-

tinctive badge of rebellion, and a young pine tree was elevated at their post as the distinctive badge of rebellion.

At length the court, finding that they could not rely on the military, adjourned to the next term, and their example was followed by the Sessions.

No measures of defence had been taken for the opening of the Sessions on November 21st, as, its jurisdiction being limited almost entirely to criminal offences, no trouble was anticipated. On that day about 60 armed men, under Abraham Gale, of Princeton, entered Worcester, and they were followed during the night and following day by about 100 more. A petition to the Court, at the United States Arms, was not received. They then took possession of the ground around the Court House.

"When the Justices approached," says Lincoln, "the armed men made way, and they passed through the opening ranks to the steps. There, triple rows of bayonets presented to their breasts, opposed farther advance. The sheriff, Col. William Greenleaf, of Lancaster, addressed the assembled crowd.

"Reasoning and warning were ineffectual, and the proclamation in the riot act was read for their dispersion. Amid the grave solemnity of the scene some incidents were interposed of lighter character. Col. Greenleaf remarked with great severity on the conduct of the armed party around him. One of the leaders replied they sought relief from grievances: that among the most intolerable of them was the sheriff himself: and next to his person were his fees, which were exorbitant and excessive, particularly on criminal executions.

" 'If you consider fees for executions oppressive, replied the Sheriff, irritated by the attack, 'you need not wait long for redress; for I will hang you all, gentlemen, for nothing, with the greatest pleasure.' Some hand among the crowd, which pressed close, placed a pine branch on his hat, and the county officer retired, with the justices, deco-

rated with the evergreen badge of rebellion. The clerk entered on his records that the court was prevented from being held by an armed force, the only notice contained on their pages that our soil has ever been dishonored by resistance of the laws."

The government, finding conciliatory measures of no avail, now determined to raise an army of sufficient strength to effectually crush the rebellion.

Ignorant of this step, the insurgents, making their rendezvous at Shrewsbury, began to concentrate their whole strength to interrupt the courts at Worcester and Concord. Daniel Shays now made his first public appearance here with troops from Hampshire, and, with other recruits, increased the number at the post to more than four hundred.

On November 30th their expedition into Middlesex was broken up by the news that three of their leaders had been captured and that a detachment of cavalry was marching against them. They retreated to Holden, followed by the horsemen, and one man received a slight sabre cut in the hand. This was enough to raise the cry that blood had been shed. About a hundred men rallied and returned to Shrewsbury. They considered marching to Worcester and encamping before the Court House, but, in their destitute condition, without clothing, money or food, this was considered impracticable, and on Saturday they marched to Grafton. The Holden party, their plan for joining the insurgents at Concord being frustrated, were dismissed until Monday, and Shays retreated to the barracks at Rutland, sending messengers to hasten the men from the western counties. On Sunday evening the party from Grafton, under Abraham Gale, of Princeton; Adam Wheeler, of Hubbardston; Simon Hazeltine, of Hardwick, and one John Williams, entered the town and again encamped in the Court House.

The citizens were now thoroughly aroused to the danger

of the situation, and two full companies, under Capt. Joel Howe, marched down Main street on Monday afternoon to the United States Arms Tavern, where the insurgent lines were formed across the street. They refused to give way, and the militia, with fixed bayonets, advanced to meet them. But, not prepared for bloodshed, their line wavered, and breaking, by a rapid wheel, they gained a new position on the hill.

The militia, passing them, went as far as the Hancock Arms, returned, and were dismissed.

Towards evening a furious snow storm set in. Part of the insurgents occupied the Court House and part the Hancock Arms. The sentinels, not fearing an attack in such weather, joined the rest in the guard room of the tavern. The young men of the town contrived to carry away and hide their muskets, which had been stacked in the hall. Then raising the alarm that the light horse were upon them, the men rushed out, and panicstruck at the disappearance of their arms, fled to the Court House. The guns were at length found, and the whole force remained, ready for action, for several hours. Notwithstanding the storm, their number was increased to 500 on Tuesday. The court opened at the Sun Tavern, but no business was transacted.

"Worcester asumed the appearance of a garrisoned town. The citizens answered to the frequent challenges of military guards; sentries paced before the house of Mr. Allen, where Judge Ward resided."

"During the evening of Tuesday," says Lincoln, "an alarm broke out, more terrible to the party quartered at the Hancock Arms, than that which had disturbed the repose of the preceding night. Soon after partaking the refreshment which was sometimes used by the military, before the institution of temperance societies, several of the men were seized with violent illness, and a rumor spread that poison had been mingled with the fountain which sup-

plied their water * * * It was suddenly recollected that the sugar used in their beverage had been purchased of a respectable merchant of the town (Daniel Waldo, senior), whose attachment to the government was well known, and the sickness was deemed proof conclusive that it had been adulterated for their destruction. A file of soldiers seized the seller and brought him to answer for the supposed attempt to murder the levies of rebellion. Fortunately for his safety, Dr. Green, of Ward, an intelligent practitioner of medicine, arrived, and the execution of vengeance was deferred until his opinion of its propriety could be obtained. After careful inspection of the suspected substance, and subjecting it to the test of different senses, he declared that, to the best of his knowledge, it was genuine, yellow Scotch *snuff*. A keg of spirit was accepted in full satisfaction for the panic occasioned by the decoction of tobacco so innocently administered."

"On Wednesday, December 6th, the insurgents went out to meet Shays, who arrived from Rutland with 350 men. As they re-entered the street, the appearance of the column of 800 was highly imposing. The pine tuft supplied the place of plume in their hats * * Shays, with his aid, mounted on white horses, led on the van. They deployed into line before the Court House where they were reviewed and inspected."

But discord now entered their ranks. The large force of men expected was delayed by the storm, and in the evening of the next day the Court House was abandoned, but sentries closely guarded the doors of the public house where the leaders were in consultation.

The court at Springfield was interrupted in December, and news was received that it was planned to prevent the session of the Common Pleas here on January 23rd. An army of 4,400 men under General Benjamin Lincoln reached Worcester the day before and was joined by the regiments of the county. Among the Worcester men who

enlisted in this army were Judge Edward Bangs, Timothy Bigelow, Jr., and Theophilus Wheeler. No opposition was offered to the opening of the court, and on the 25th, General Lincoln marched to relieve Springfield. Soon after this the insurgents were surprised at Petersham, and fled without offering the slightest resistance.

In 1793 the Sessions again determined to erect a new building, and petitioned the Legislature for authority to raise money for that purpose. This application did not meet with favor, as some were opposed to it because they wished a division of the county. No active measures were taken therefore until 1801, when the opposition was overcome, and on the first of October of that year the corner stone was laid by Isaiah Thomas, Esq., assisted by the other members of the committee. The Supreme Court held its first session in the new building on the 27th of September, 1804, a dedicatory address being delivered on the occasion by Robert Treat Paine, one of the justices of the Court.

The old building was sold and removed from Court Hill probably in 1802 or 1803, but the date is uncertain. Its removal was considered a great undertaking at that time; it was brought down to Main street, mounted on wheels, drawn through the town by twenty yoke of oxen, and placed in the location it occupied so many years at Trumbull Square.

In introducing the next speaker, Mr. Paine said:

I will call your attention to the oil paintings over the fire-places. That on the right represents General and Chief Justice Artemas Ward, and the other, his son, Thomas Walter Ward, high sheriff of Worcester county, whose cocked hat may be seen on the mantel. Miss Har-

riet Ward, of Shrewsbury, has kindly loaned these portraits of her great-grandfather and grandfather for this occasion.

In the early days of Worcester the Old South Church and the Court House were both used for public purposes, town meetings having been held in both buildings.

It may not be generally known, however, that the Court House was for a time occupied as a place of worship by the Second Parish, then under the pastoral care of Rev. Aaron Bancroft.

It is an odd coincidence that the first marriage solemnized by the young minister was that of Joseph Trumbull and Elizabeth Paine, February 14, 1786. Later in this year Dr. Bancroft married Lucretia Chandler, own cousin to Mrs. Trumbull, and their son, George Bancroft, the historian, was born in the old house, which stood until 1899 on Salisbury street, within a stone's throw of this spot.

I will request Mr. Samuel S. Green, librarian of the Public Library, to give us some information in regard to the use of the Court House by the Second Parish.

Mr. Green then said:

THE SECOND PARISH IN THE SECOND COURT HOUSE.

By Samuel Swett Green.

CONDENSED REPORT.

The Second Parish in the town of Worcester has had three meeting houses. The first was on Back (now Summer) street; it was for many years used as a school house, and has only recently been torn down. The second was on the site of the present building and was burned down in August, 1849. The fire which consumed it, as seen from my father's house on Harvard street, is one of the deeply imprinted memories of my boyhood. The existing meeting house was dedicated March 26, 1851.

Before it had a building of its own, however, the society held services for nearly seven years, from the third Sunday in March, 1785, to January 1, 1792, in the room in which we are now assembled.

When Rev. Mr. Maccarty, minister of the First Parish, died, a large number of the members desired to have Aaron Bancroft made his successor; but, owing to differences of theological opinion and of taste and sentiments, the majority were unwilling to settle him. A very influential and somewhat numerous portion of the members thereupon severed their connection with the old society and formed a new organization, which occupied this room for its meetings.

Until an act of incorporation was passed, November 18, 1787, the members of the newly formed society paid taxes as members of the First Parish and made voluntary contributions for the support of the organization which they had just joined. It is an interesting fact that the new society became, it is believed, the first poll parish, properly so called, in Massachusetts, outside of Boston.

Feeling ran high in Worcester regarding the separation, and the new society had to do the preliminary work of organization with little aid or sympathy.

Here, for instance, a church was formed by the members of the society, by themselves. Two men and three or four women had been church members, but the First Church declined to give them regular dismission so that they might join the new church.

A covenant was prepared and signed by twenty-seven persons, the ninth name being Elizabeth Paine. The signature of Elizabeth Trumbull appears further on.

It is an interesting fact that the covenant adopted in this place, and signed here in 1785, remained the covenant of the church until a year or two ago. Rev. Mr. Bancroft was ordained February 1, 1786.

It was a notable body of men and women who met in this place as members of the Second Parish.

The pastor, Rev. Aaron Bancroft, afterwards known familiarly as Dr. Bancroft, was a spare, small-limbed man, yet of impressive mien. His voice was shrill, but his pulpit manner solemn, and his utterances were marked by strength and weight. He was a man of excellent mental endowments and good sense, and of a quiet, gentle manner. He had the quality of humor also. Dr. Bancroft was an excellent citizen, took an important part in educational and other matters in the town, and was universally respected in Worcester, and an important man in the Unitarian denomination, having been the first president of the American Unitarian Association, besides holding other offices.

The society which worshipped in this room began as an Arminian Church; it afterwards became, like so many other churches in eastern Massachusetts, Unitarian.

Among the original members of the Second Parish was a large proportion of the professional and distinguished men of Worcester.

The elder Levi Lincoln, afterwards Jefferson's attorney general, sat here. Here, too, was Timothy Paine, one of the most respected and useful citizens of Worcester, and his son, Nathaniel Paine, for thirty-five years judge of probate.

David and Timothy Bigelow were among the original members of the society which worshipped here. Chief Justice George T. Bigelow, of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, was the grandson of both of them; and John P. Bigelow, mayor of Boston, and Mrs. Abbott Lawrence were grandchildren of Timothy, so well known as a leading spirit among the Revolutionary patriots.

Joseph Allen, afterwards member of Congress, is one of the men who sat here under Mr. Bancroft. So, too, is Isaiah Thomas, founder of the Massachusetts Spy and of the American Antiquarian Society and a distinguished

publisher and author, a man who probably did more for Worcester's material interests than any other man of his generation.

Among early members of Mr. Bancroft's society were children of John Chandler, Judge Edward Bangs, the first Stephen Salisbury, Dr. William Paine, the second Dr. John Green and David Curtis, grandfather of the late George William Curtis.

Thrilling indeed are the associations connected with this room, when we remember that most of those men regularly took their places here on Sunday to engage in worship. How much less important would the history of Worcester and the Commonwealth have been had they and their descendants not lived.

Several of the men mentioned were here on week days as well as Sunday. It was in this room that Levi Lincoln, for example, argued so powerfully for liberty in the case of Quork Walker, the decision of which established the law of freedom in this Commonwealth.

The disreputable Stephen Burroughs was tried here. He was most justly condemned and punished.

His case interests me, because after he escaped from jail in Worcester he established an early public library on Long Island.

Mr. Paine, in introducing the next speaker, said:

It would seem fitting that something should be said of the family who, for so many years, were the owners and occupants of this house after it was given up for public uses.

Fortunately, we have present a member of the Trumbull family who is amply qualified to enlighten us upon this matter, and it gives me special pleasure to introduce Miss Cogswell, who will give us some facts in regard to the early history of those who for such a long time were identified with the historic mansion.

THE TRUMBULL MANSION, TRUMBULL SQUARE.

pen-and-ink caricatures, and a water-color sketch, made in response to the query of a friend as to the nature of gout, which portrays himself with foot bandaged and elevated on a rest while the Devil with a long pair of tobacco tongs applies a red-hot coal to the victim's great toe. This gay spirit did not desert him even in his invalid's chair; and he long retained his membership in the social club known as the "*Cordon Bleu.*"

In February, 1786, Dr. Trumbull married Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Timothy and Sarah (Chandler) Paine. The history of the staunch Tory families of Paine and Chandler is too well known in Worcester to require repetition; but Timothy Paine's connection with the Court House to-day commemorated may be recounted. In the year of its erection, 1751, he was appointed clerk of the courts, holding the office for 23 years. He was register of probate from 1757 to 1767; register of deeds, 1761 to 1775; a special justice of the Supreme Court in 1771; town clerk, selectman and representative to the General Court. From 1763 to 1768 he was *mandamus* councillor to George III., a fact that contributed to his ruin when the Revolution came. It may be noted that one of his classmates at Harvard was General Artemas Ward, who, as chief justice, was later to be so closely associated with this building.

Most of the older pieces of furniture, silver, etc., came into the family through Elizabeth (Paine) Trumbull. That no portrait of her is extant is due to the iconoclasm of a grandchild, who, having received her miniature, companion to her husband's, from the nurse as a plaything, promptly plunged it into a basin of water and removed every vestige of paint. She is described as a lovely woman, both in feature and character; and one evidence of beauty has survived in the shape of a lock of her long, light-brown hair, which, when unbound, would

trail on the floor. She, too, had a knack for rhyming; and used to delight her grandchildren by versified letters and nursery jingles.

Joseph Trumbull died in 1824; his wife in 1832. Their only son, George Augustus, was born in Petersham in 1792, and came, a lad of eleven, with his parents to Worcester. He was educated in Phillips Academy, Exeter. His first business venture was in a book store, the largest in the county, which stood on the west side of Main Street, where now is the house of Wm. H. Bliss, No. 100, and was later owned by Clarendon Harris. After the death of Isaiah Thomas, Mr. Trumbull, in partnership with Wm. Manning, published the Massachusetts Spy from 1819 to 1823. He was cashier of the Central Bank from its incorporation in 1829 until 1836, when he resigned to take a similar position in the Citizens' Bank, opened in that year, which he held until 1858, when the family foe, gout, forced him to resign. His books, filled with copper-plate handwriting, are yet exhibited with pride at the Citizens' Bank. Though financial reverses, due more than once to misplaced confidence, crippled his fortunes, his probity remained unimpeachable, and he was held in high esteem by his associates. He delighted to dispense the simple hospitality of the day. A life-long Unitarian, he owned two pews in the Second Parish, but after the establishment of the Church of the Unity, he attended services there, on account of the more convenient location. He was an early member of the Worcester Book Club—first of the many book clubs in this city, and probably the third in the country; and he belonged for ten years to the Worcester Fire Society, of which his son Joseph was also a member. The following notes are from an address of Hon. Isaac Davis to that society: "* * * Mr. Trumbull wrote a beautiful hand, was a good accountant (never any irregularities in his accounts), strictly honest, easy and

agreeable in his manners, a gentleman in his deportment, modest and retiring, always declining any public office offered him by his fellow citizens; he always had about him a large circle of warm friends." Another testimony is found in "Carl's Tour in Main Street": "George A. Trumbull, Esq., from the many anecdotes I have heard of him, must have been the residuary legatee of all the wits who flourished in the building during its half century of use as a court house."

Mr. Trumbull's wife, Louisa Clap, came of good fighting stock. Besides an ancestor in the Canada expedition of 1690, she had a grandfather in the French war; and her other grandfather, two great-uncles and her father served in the Revolution. The latter, Capt. Caleb Clap, fought from Lexington to the finish, and was an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati. He married Elizabeth, daughter of a brother officer, Capt. John Stone of Rutland; and their daughter Louisa was born in Greenfield in 1798. During several years she attended school in Worcester while visiting her great-uncle, Col. Daniel Clap, who was register of deeds in the Second and Third Court Houses for 32 years, and who resided on the corner of Main and Park streets. There is a story of her schoolmates taking her to Mr. Trumbull's book-store, ostensibly for the purchase of pencils, but with the further object of pointing out the handsome young proprietor. Acquaintance developed an attachment, expressed by the gift of Thomson's Seasons, regarded ever after as a precious keepsake. In 1815 the groom of 23 and the bride of 16 were married at Greenfield; and, equipped with their little leather and hair trunks, journeyed by stage to Worcester, where they made their home with Dr. Trumbull. The girl-wife was attractive and vivacious, with an amiable and deeply sympathetic disposition—qualities which the care of a dozen children must have taxed to the utmost. Her

journal, kept intermittently for many years, is a deeply interesting and often pathetic register of maternal joys and sorrows, interspersed with recollections of ancient times and occasional comment on public events. The "lost art of letter-writing" and the vanishing art of reading aloud were sedulously cultivated in the family; one of the daughters read Prescott's "Conquest of Peru" to her mother, following her as she went from room to room on household duties bent. Mrs. Trumbull's inherited patriotic impulses awoke when the Civil War broke out and five of her relatives enlisted. She was foremost in the work of the Sanitary Commission, and wrote earnest appeals signed "Soldiers' Friend" to the local papers. Many were the boxes dispatched southward filled with comforts and delicacies, each packet containing a letter of cheer and encouragement. Even the treasured stores of homespun blankets and linen were despoiled, for no sacrifice was deemed too great for the boys at the front. She was a capable housewife; the traditions of Chandler cookery were continued in her kitchen, and the "servant problem" could not trouble one who kept her maids for years. Faithful and devoted, she was indeed a consort for richer, for poorer; in sickness and in health. Hon. G. F. Hoar speaks of her as "that excellent and gracious lady"; and Rev. E. E. Hale wrote at the time of her death: "It would be very hard for me to tell you how much I am indebted and in how many ways to your mother's kindness. For a person in her social position, with her wit and intelligence, to ally herself so simply, tenderly and sweetly with our church and the boy preacher—this is what only a person of strong character and convictions would do."

The sober old rafters echoed with the merriment of twelve children. Seven of them were girls, less celebrated than the "Seven Stars" of the Chandler race, yet pleasantly remembered by their contemporaries for graces of mind

or person. By and by a troop of grandchildren and another of great-grandchildren (the fifth generation from Dr. Trumbull) learned to love the old home where they received the traditional grandmotherly petting. In 1865 Mr. and Mrs. G. A. Trumbull celebrated their golden wedding. Three years later the former died, his widow surviving till 1885. It is a melancholy circumstance that no male descendant of any of their children bears the name, the owner of this house being the last Trumbull of the Massachusetts branch. The firstborn, Mrs. Lincoln, passed away last winter, and with her we have lost a fund of reminiscence, priceless to the student of ancient customs. A few months before her death she described the arrangement of the house in her girlhood days. The east parlor was then used as a dining-room, and here stood the Pembroke table with brass claw feet and the set of flag-bottomed chairs belonging to her parents' wedding outfit. The present dining-room was the kitchen; an immense fireplace with brick oven occupied the east end, leaving a niche at the right-hand corner, where sat the fiddler when the young people gave a dance. The room on the left of the hall has always been used as a parlor, and the room back of it, now filled with china, was the bedroom of the crippled grandfather. The front of the house commanded a pleasant prospect down Green Street as far as the old red mill; and Dr. Trumbull, seated at the door in his big chair, used to prophesy to the incredulous children that they would live to see houses built all the way down.

About 1840 Mr. G. A. Trumbull, finding the house too small for his increasing family, changed the old kitchen into a dining-room, and built an L, containing an apartment rare in those days—namely, a bathing room. Later, a narrow piazza was built on the east side, and a bay window over the porch; but as none of these additions possessed any historic or aesthetic value, no effort has been made to reproduce them.

The house stood in a large, old-fashioned yard; a brick walk led from the gate to the door, and tall elms on either side united their branches overhead. The left corner of the yard was occupied by a horse-chestnut shading a large bed of lilies-of-the-valley; flower-beds bordered the west and north sides, while in the angle of the house blackberries and raspberries grew in wild profusion, and rows of currant bushes provided material for Mrs. Trumbull's famous currant wine, the variety made from the white fruit being said to resemble a Rhenish vintage. Two grape arbors were built over the path; and near the dining-room door was a well curb with latticed cover, which served as a refrigerator. The bucket would be pulled up just before meal time, and the delicious water dipped out with Timothy Paine's silver cans. On the right a winding walk divided the vegetable garden at the rear from the lawn, bordered with shrubs and fruit trees, in the middle of which stood a large and remarkably handsome dressed elm.

On the opposite side of the street was the fine estate of Moses Phillips of the Boston publishing firm of Phillips, Sampson & Co., later occupied by Wm. Fox. Where now a row of mean one-story offices marks the curve of the road, was once a fair lawn with trees and flowers and peacocks. Further down was the residence of Gov. Emory Washburn. Trumbull Street and later Trumbull Square—inapt name for the irregular polygon at the juncture of Park, Trumbull, Franklin and Green Streets—were called after G. A. Trumbull.

The advent of the Western Railroad in 1839, cutting through the estate, marked the beginning of the end, though the quiet rural charm lingered into the early seventies. Brick blocks, tenement houses and small shops appeared, and the character of the neighborhood was revolutionized. Amid these degenerate surroundings the old mansion kept something of ancient dignity; and its elms

and grass plots made an oasis in the desert till 1886, when it passed out of the family. Dr. Delahanty and Dr. Kelley occupied only part of the house, renting the rest in tenements. A few years later it was moved a few feet to the east to make room for a brick apartment house—"The Trumbull;" and again it was moved to widen the street. Shorn of veranda, porch, cornice and roof-rail; the trees felled, the yard torn up, our poor old house became a melancholy spectacle. In the spring of 1899 the joint owners decided to erect a second block, and were about to demolish the venerable structure. At this juncture Miss Trumbull rescued it from destruction.

The latest—and let us hope a permanent—site for the Second Court House is on Massachusetts Avenue, the double road recently laid out by Mr. Salisbury, leading from the birthplace of George Bancroft to the hill and tower named for the historian, and divided by a row of noble forest trees between whose trunks is caught a glimpse of the pond in Institute Park. The house stands in an old-fashioned flower garden, wherein is set a sun-dial of coeval date, whose inscription—"Tak tent of time ere time be tint"—might serve as a motto for the Committee on Marking Historic spots.

C. A. Vaughan had charge of the removal and the rebuilding, according to plans made by Earle & Fisher, who have successfully carried out a task far more difficult than that of designing a modern dwelling, and have harmoniously blended old and new. Mr. Earle has been untiring in his supervision, and a word of appreciation is due the foreman, Mr. Rochefort, who has taken great pains to carry out the wishes of the owner, especially in reconstructing the original frame work.

Long may the mansion, in this its third avatar, stand as a home for the kinsfolk and a monument to our forefathers.

In introducing the last speaker of the afternoon, Mr. Paine said:

I am sure we have all listened with much pleasure to the interesting remarks in regard to the old Court House and to the family who dwelt in it. It would be agreeable to hear from some one connected with the present palatial building occupied by the courts of Worcester county, and I shall venture to call upon Hon. William T. Forbes, the able and popular judge of probate for the county, to say a few words at this time.

OLD LAWS AND NEW.

By William T. Forbes.

It has been said that three movings equal one fire. This house, however, comes forth from its movings, like the Egyptian phoenix from the ashes, rejuvenated and equipped for another cycle of useful existence.

I take great pleasure in visiting for the first time this court-room, associated by history and tradition with members of my own family. Here my great-great-uncle, Joseph Allen—"the waspish clark," as he was dubbed by the ungodly—entered and recorded the hard judgments and harder sentences of my great-great-great-uncle, Edmund Trowbridge, justice of the Supreme Court. The former was the patriotic supporter of his uncle, Samuel Adams; the latter, who, in the words of President John Adams, "had power to crush by his frown or his nod any young lawyer in his county," like so many of the official class remained loyal to the British crown. Sixty-six years old at the outbreak of the Revolution, he withdrew from active participation in the stirring events of that period.

I do not wish to raise any ghosts of the cruel past to haunt the home of our kind hostess. If called up for a mo-

ment, they could not stay in this bright, cheerful mansion. At the time this court-room was used as a hall of justice, British law imposed the death penalty for more than a hundred petty offences. It is not strange, then, that Johnson Green, a negro, "instigated by the devil," who stole among other things a bottle of New England rum, two cakes of gingerbread, one pair of boots, one shirt—cotton and linen —and one linen pocket handkerchief, was sentenced in this room to be hanged, and paid his debt to society Aug. 17, 1786—the last man hanged for burglary in this county.

Since this court house was built the advance of society has been marked by the emancipation of the slave, of the debtor, and of the married woman. In the old burial ground on our Common stands a solitary monument erected in honor of Colonel Timothy Bigelow, the foremost patriot from Worcester during the Revolutionary War. It seems incredible to us that this minute-man of 1775, who stormed Quebec with Montgomery, who bravely led his men at Monmouth, after his release from the hardships of a British military prison—the companion and friend of Washington and Lafayette—at last, when poor and broken in health, should have been consigned by an execution from this court house to a debtor's prison whence he was a few days later "discharged by deth."

Under the laws in force during the half century when this hall was used for a court-room, a married woman had less property rights than her sisters in Turkish harems. Now the tables have been turned. The married woman has nearly every right that her husband possesses, except as to choice of the family domicile, while he is still under the common law obligation to support his family, and must alone suffer the penalty for most crimes committed by her in his presence, unless he uses all reasonable means to restrain her.

We look with interest and pleasure on this portrait of General Artemas Ward, the predecessor of General Wash-

ington in the command of the patriot troops besieging Boston; as we wander through the modern reproduction of an ancient Pompeian villa at Saratoga, and better understand the home life of the Latins. Here we have something better—we behold the original, not a copy.

Inspired by patriotic impulses Miss Trumbull has preserved for the people, as well as for herself, this ancient home of justice, and still guards her Lares and Penates from the iconoclastic spirit of the age.

Mr. Paine said in conclusion:

All those present are requested to enter their names in the book provided for that purpose. I will now, in behalf of Miss Trumbull, invite you all to inspect the house, and particularly to visit the garret where may be seen the original roof timbers and the arched ceiling beams of this court room.

The meeting was then adjourned, and the guests spent an hour in rambling about the place. Punch and cake were served by Mrs. A. G. Bullock.

APPENDIX.

The following list of old materials used in reconstruction is supplied by Lezime Rochefort, foreman for C. A. Vaughan, builder:

Exterior: Original 4 corner posts. Threshold and 2 steps at front entrance. Original brass latch on front door.

Cellar: All doors and all except 4 knobs. Middle front room—1 beam. Furnace room—3 beams; studs. Wood room—6 cross beams, 16 ft. long, supporting chimney trimmer arch. Middle back room—1 girth beam, exposed; 1 cross beam.

1st floor: Entry—iron newel rod; mahogany stair rail. East parlor—2 beams. Dining-room—2 beams not exposed; 2 posts; black marble fireplace and mantel. West parlor—2 beams; panelled wainscoting except cap which is same design as old; carved white marble fireplace; wood mantel, except shelf. China room—2 beams; carved white marble fireplace and wood mantel, except shelf, formerly in east parlor; outside door. Back kitchen—entire ceiling consisting of 4 girth beams, 1 cross beam, joists and boards; closet door. Extension—wooden door knobs except on pantry door.

2d floor: Court room—original 2 doors; 2 wood mantels, except shelves; wainscoting, except cap designed from old and panels around register. East bedroom—all doors; 2 latches, 1 small knob. Next bedroom—1 post, exposed; all doors; 3 small knobs. South bedroom—2 doors.

Attic: Entire hip roof, including posts, beams, rafters, purlins and boarding; arched beams over court room ceiling, supporting joists; 1 floor beam; studding; door (all the above exposed).

All doors, shutters and cornice on the first floor, and the wainscoting of the dining-room and china room are new, but copied from original design. The three marble fireplaces downstairs were put in by Mr. G. A. Trumbull. The china room is modelled after his wife's china closet.

The exterior, with its four tall chimneys and two roof railings, is almost an exact reproduction of the Trumbull Mansion, the main and historic part of which measured 41 ft. 11 in. in front, by 32 ft. 10 in. depth. No effort was made to

keep the L, piazza or bay window, all of which were added by Mr. G. A. Trumbull, who also put in a new door. The old one, marked with the hoof-prints of Richard Grimes' steed, was used on a box-stall in G. P. Kendrick's stable (which stood at the foot of the garden on Franklin Street) until the latter was burned in 1882. The old latch, however, which had been taken off and fastened on the carriage-house door, escaped the flames; and having been returned last year to Miss Trumbull by the kindness of Mr. E. H. Kendrick, now occupies its former place above the threshold.

The house, as restored to its supposed original arrangement, has a small entry and four rooms on the lower story; and on the upper a hall, two bedrooms and the court room. The last had been partitioned into two more bedrooms in Dr. Trumbull's time, but has now resumed its early dimensions. It occupies the entire left hand side of the second floor, and has two fireplaces and seven windows—two in front, two at the back and three at the side, alternating with the fireplaces. The walls, like those of all other rooms, are 8 ft. high; but the domed ceiling springs up 1½ ft. higher. Bookcases have been added.

In the extension, built round a small court to save the end windows of the court room, is the back kitchen, whose large fireplace and brick oven follow old-time models; some old materials have been used in this room and in the chamber above. This extension, the front porch and entrance, the terrace and much of the interior detail were designed by Earle & Fisher. The second northeast upper window was put in for the sake of symmetry, and sidelights were added to the upper hall window. The new side porch and door-way were copied from the Salisbury Mansion, being a substitute for the outside door formerly in the dining-room but now replaced by a window.

Mr. J. H. Lea's description of the Trumbull Mansion ("Trumbull-Clap Genealogy, 1886") counts 23 rooms, 5 of which, however, were very small. The present house has 12 main rooms, beside half a dozen offices and an attic covering the whole. There are 10 fireplaces, mostly constructed of old materials, and all but three doors are fitted with ancient latches or knobs. An effort has been made to restore, so far as compatible with comfort and con-

venience, the atmosphere of a simple yet commodious house of colonial days.

The twelve children of George Augustus and Louisa (Clap) Trumbull were:

1. Elizabeth; married Wm. Sever Lincoln of Worcester, lawyer, Brigadier General U. S. A., author "History 34th Regiment," pioneer in Alton, Ill. 2. George Clap; Ass't Q. M. of Mass.; treasurer North End Savings Bank, Boston; member "Cincinnati"; m. Nancy (Woodbury) Moore; resided in Cambridge. 3. Caroline Burling; m. Francis Blake, U. S. appraiser Boston Custom House; res. Boston, Newton, New York. 4. Louisa Jane; m. Henry Lea; res. Alton, Ill., Wilmington, Del., Fairhaven. 5. Sarah Paine; m. her cousin John Clap Ripley, successor to his father-in-law as cashier Citizens' Bank, member Horticultural Society; their estate on Ripley street now owned by Hon. J. H. Walker. 6. Joseph; grad. Harvard Law School; went with his brother Charles to California in 1849; member N. Y. Stock Exchange; m. 1st, Frances Towne Hamilton, 2d, Mary Moore Johnson. 7. John; died young. 8. Charles Perkins; marched through Baltimore with 6th Mass. Regt.; Q. M. 34th Regt.; officer Boston Custom House; member Ancient and Honorable Artillery Co.; res. Beverly; m. 1st, Mary Norwood, 2d, Sarah Heywood. 9. Susan. 10. Isabella Frink; m. George Franklin Hartshorn, cashier Central Bank; resides at Taunton. 11. Mary Abbot; m. John Bear Doane Cogswell, rep. for Worcester and Yarmouth in Gen. Ct., Dist. Att'y for Wisconsin, Mass. State Senator and Pres. of Senate; resided at Milwaukee. 12. John; teller Citizens' Bank and North End Savings Bank, Boston.

Only Mrs. Hartshorn and Miss Susan Trumbull survive. Three grandchildren were born in the Trumbull Mansion: James Henry Lea, Louisa Trumbull Blake (Mrs. C. B. Wells) and Harriet Davis Trumbull (Mrs. W. R. Thomas). There were in all 15 births, 6 marriages and 6 deaths in this house.

LIST OF PERSONS PRESENT.

Mr. Charles F. Aldrich
*Mr. George E. Arnold
Mr. A. R. Baker, *Telegram*
*Mr. Charles C. Baldwin
*Mrs. Charles C. Baldwin
*Mrs. James H. Bancroft
Miss Emma S. Barrett
*Mr. George E. Barrett
*Mrs. George E. Barrett
Miss Lydia M. Barton
Miss Catherine M. Bent
*Mrs. John W. Bisco
Mr. Charles Brooks Blake, Providence
Mr. Francis Blake, Auburndale
Mrs. Francis Blake, Auburndale
Mrs. Margaret Blake, Providence
Mr. Wm. Swasey Blake, Providence
Miss Rose Boyle, *Spy*
*Mr. Henry Brannon
*Mrs. Henry Brannon
*Dr. Amanda C. Bray
*Mr. Edwin Brown
*Mrs. Edwin Brown
*Mrs. A. George Bullock
Señor David Casares Galera; Merida, Yucatan, Mexico
Señor David Casares Camara; Merida, Yucatan, Mexico
Señor Primitivo Casares Camara; Merida, Yucatan, Mexico
*Mr. Robert H. Chamberlain
Mrs. Elizabeth F. P. Chamberlin
*Mrs. C. Van D. Chenoweth
*Miss Cogswell
*Mr. Ellery B. Crane
*Mr. Charles F. Darling
*Mrs. Charles F. Darling
*Mr. Horace H. Dayton
Mr. Rufus B. Dodge
*Mrs. Rufus B. Dodge
Mr. Stephen C. Earle
*Mr. Charles B. Eaton
*Mrs. Emma R. Ellsworth
*Mr. Lyman A. Ely
*Mr. James L. Estey
Mr. Clellan Waldo Fisher
Mrs. Clellan Waldo Fisher
*Mrs. J. Nelson Flagg
*Mr. William T. Forbes
*Mrs. William T. Forbes
*Mrs. Rufus B. Fowler
Mr. E. W. Goodell, *Gazette*
*Mr. A. K. Gould
Mr. Samuel S. Green
Miss Julia F. Grosvenor, Utica, N. Y.
*Mr. O. B. Hadwen
*Mr. William T. Harlow
*Mr. Chauncey G. Harrington
*Mr. Benjamin Thomas Hill
Miss Emmeline H. Hill
*Mrs. T. S. Johnson
*Mr. Daniel Kent
*Mrs. Daniel Kent
*Mr. Thomas Goddard Kent
Mr. Everett Kimball
*Mr. Sumner A. Kinsley
*Mrs. Sumner A. Kinsley
Miss Elizabeth Trumbull Lincoln
Miss Margaret Winslow Lincoln
Mr. Winslow Sever Lincoln
*Mrs. Delia C. M. Manning
*Miss Adeline May, Leicester
*Mr. Mander A. Maynard
*Mrs. Mander A. Maynard
*Mrs. C. C. McCloud
*Dr. Thomas C. Mendenhall
Mrs. Thomas C. Mendenhall
*Miss Helen M. Metcalf
*Miss Anna Maria Moore
*Mrs. T. A. O'Callaghan
Miss Alice Paine
Mrs. James Perkins Paine
*Mr. Nathaniel Paine
*Mrs. Nathaniel Paine
Miss Rose Chandler Paine
*Dr. Charles A. Peabody
*Mrs. Charles A. Peabody
Mr. George Arms Ripley
*Miss M. Emma Reed
*Mrs. Nellie Frances Rogers
*Miss Edith M. Rolston
*Mr. Stephen Salisbury
*Mr. William H. Sawyer
*Mr. Daniel Seagrave
Miss Anna M. Sheehan
*Mrs. Ellen A. Sheehan
Rev. Charles Lancaster Short
*Miss Jeanie Lea Southwick
*Mr. Charles E. Staples
Mrs. Henry Tileston, New York
Miss Trumbull
*Mr. Ephraim Tucker
*Mrs. Charles A. Vaughan
*Miss M. Agnes Waite
Miss Harriet Ward, Shrewsbury
Miss Katherine O. Wardwell
*Mrs. M. J. Woodward-Weatherbee

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THIS NUMBER CONTAINS: Extracts from the Diary of Rev. Silas Bigelow. Report of the Committee Charged with Placing the Memorial to Mark the Birthplace of George Bancroft.

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... OF ...

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WORCESTER, MASS.

1900. OCTOBER. No. 6.

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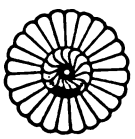

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the first date of the ninth page of this diary is March 23, 1758. From the diary we learn that its author was a school teacher in 1757, which makes it impossible that the book could have been the record of Joseph Hall. The writer unconsciously left to this generation much history of those early days of great value. By the names left in the record efforts were made to locate the family, which were at length crowned with success.

It was evident from the reading that the author's home was in Sutton, Grafton, or some town contiguous thereto. The author was a great sufferer from lameness for years, and his daily comments on his affliction extend throughout the book. The means that he used to bring about a cure will bring a smile to the faces of those who read. The list of remedies is a long and varied one—embracing Kittredge's oil, ointment of spike, Dr. Flint's medicines, plaster of adhernehum, rattlesnake's grease, nerve ointment, white oak leaves, candied honey, comfrey, heartsease, devil's bit, rum, fasting spittle. Dr. Greenleaf ordered an ointment made of beetles and madworms—"liquor that cattles' feet were boiled in"—but the author writes, "It seemed to do it neither good nor hurt"—plasters of strong wort, deershorn boiled, Solomon's seal, eggs, peppercorn, "sider" (internally), turpentine, white pine bark, malt, Dr. Olliver's salve, horseradish, mustard-seed, camphor, neat's-foot oil, sweet oil, linseed oil, mayweed, nightshade, salt, pennyroyal, wormwood, tansy, camomile, elder, houselick, asmart or hed-all, boiled pitch, break roots and marshmallows. That the invalid should have endured for years the application of this long list of remedies, is proof that the physical constitution of man will sometimes endure much.

Kittredge's oil, mentioned in the list, was no doubt the production of Dr. John B. Kittredge of Framingham, with whom Dr. Bullard of Sutton studied.

The diary revealed the fact that its author (according to

his own handwriting) was twenty years old in October, 1759, which would make the date of his birth 1739, twelve years before the advent of "Master" Joseph Hall, the reputed author of this old-time record.

Still later I discovered the author of this diary to be Rev. Silas Bigelow, born in Shrewsbury, Mass., Oct. 10, 1739, graduated at Harvard 1765, ordained minister of Paxton, Mass., Oct. 21, 1767, and died Nov. 16, 1769. He was a son of Samuel Bigelow, who came from Westboro to Shrewsbury, the latter being son of Samuel, who settled in Marlboro, Mass., and who was son of Samuel of Watertown. The genealogy of some of this family may be found in Ward's "History of Shrewsbury, Mass." The names mentioned in the diary are found by the history of Shrewsbury to be the brothers and sisters of the Rev. Silas Bigelow.

JOHN C. CRANE.

July 2, 1900.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY.

The wages of a school teacher in 1757 are given at forty shillings per week. On page 30 the author has an account running through some seven years, with the amount of money received for teaching Latin.

1758.

Under date of April 18, the author returns thanks—"God's goodness has made my foot better."

The diarist evidently was not pleased with one physician he employed, for he says: "My ankle, this summer, quite stronger than it ever has been since Davies tried to set it."

In other places in the diary he often has a fling at Davies. Aug. 6, he writes, his ankle being better, "Give God all ye praise and glory as ye chief Physician."

The next day his hopes fell, for he only wrote the brief sentence: "Not quite so well."

Sept. 27, the sufferer had more trouble—"Seized with ye pleurise fever."

Oct. 12, "I went to Sutton lecture."

Oct. 21 he gives one way in which he applied medicine: "This day I put on a handful of raw madworms scalded to death."

On the next day, the 22d, he says: "I went to Rev. A. H. (Rev. Aaron Hutchinson's, who was settled at Grafton, 1750) to keep his house."

On the 30th of this month he says: "Put on some more raw madworms at Rev. A. Hutchinson's."

The Nov. 5th following he says: "I came from Rev. A. Hutchinson's; had a dollar for staying."

Dec. 8. "This day (Friday) I went to keep school at ye school-house by Abraham Knowt (prob. Knowlton). I kept eleven days at ten pounds per month."

Dec. 12 to 16. "Not quite so well as ye 8th. Sitting in the cold school-house perhaps does not suit it" (his ankle).

Dec. 20. "This day I kept school at Mr. Knowlton's, there being but two or three scholars."

1759.

Jan. 2. Speaks of being at Mr. Cutler's.

Jan. 23. "Sabbath—a bitter cold day."

Feb. 25. "Came home from meeting this day very poor, having a cough and measles."

Mar. 9. "Dorcas (sister) went to bed with ye measles."

Mar. 12. "Mother, Samll, Solom, Ithamar, Sarah took their beds—Molley took her cradle ye 11—and Lorin 13."

Mar. 13. "Jedidah keeps on the bed. Ankle fuller of pain than it has been this twelve months. I suppose by reason of the vast deal of sider yt I lately drinked."

Mar. 15. "Samuel went up chamber and Solomon went down below."

Mar. 16. They can all set up some, but Jedidah and Samuel and Dorcas—& Sol. Ith^{mar} and Sarah go about house."

Mar. 19. "Jedidah went out of her chamber."

Apr. 10. "Went to Sutton; stayed till the Sabbath."

July 16. "Note that yesterday I went to meeting with only two staves."

July 17. "This day, about noon, I set out for Cambridge College or commencement. I went to Framingham this night."

July 18. "This morning set off early for Cambridge from Framingham. I saw commencement this day. Lay this night at Cambridge."

July 19. "I went from Cambridge to Chelsea, and stayed this night at Chelsea."

July 20. "Set out from Chelsea for Boston over ye ferry this night; lodged in Boston. This afternoon went to Mr. Hew's of Boston. He said the wedge of my heel was split way outside of my foot; he could not set it; he ordered to dip it in ye sea."

July 23. "I set out from Chelsea for Marlborough. Got to Marlborough this night."

July 24. "Stayed at Marlborough."

July 25. "At noon set out for home, arrived just after sundown to Fathers."

Sept. 4. "It is to be noted that I have not followed learning steadily on every day since May 14, but sometimes several days and sometimes a week I omitted it. What I have learned is almost the 1st A Knieed in Virgil, viz: Studied it over to myself the second time (for I learned to the 8th A :^{d} before I left off at Grafton and at Weathersfield, and a little at home after I came from Weathersfield), and looking over the grammar again. I have for-

got the most of my Greek, but that is but a small matter, all I have learned of it was the grammar once, and five or six chapters in St. John—yet I studied John almost thro after I came from Weathersfield."

Sept. 4. "School began at Joseph Hastings."

Sept. 9. "I was sent for home from Hastings this day about sunset, for it was thought my mother was a dying, but she recovered in an hour or two so as to speak loud."

No date. "My father received for my schooling at the school-house by Mr. Knowlton. My father received for my keeping school at Mr. Parker's that three weeks, one day and half."

Sept. 17. "This day I stayed at my fathers, having come home the 15th and it raining this day so I could not go over to school."

Sept. 27. "This evening I went to Dr. Crosby's; agreed to put in a dollar with him into the lottery."

Oct. 5. "This day at noon the school ended at Domin Hast; I keep one month (and one day) (that was last at Knowlton's December 20, 1758); the month is 10 L, the day is 7-8—I kept the afternoon and gave it them."

Oct. 9. "In the forenoon did some trifles in my brother's shop."

Oct. 10. "I went to Rev^{d} Hutchinson's. (He was gone to Mendon to Taft.) I studied some there with Stow and Barns."

Oct. 12. "This afternoon I got the seventy last lines in ye first Anied. I wore my red stock."

Oct. 13. "Preparing to begin school on Monday."

Oct .15. "School began the second time at Hast."

Oct. 21. Sabbath—20 YRS OLD—this day I went to Shrewsbury meeting; I heard Mr. C. (Cushing) preach—(VERY DULL)—concerning Christian contentment under Afflictions. Philip 4-12.

FROM THIS ENTRY WE FIND THE AGE OF THE AUTHOR OF THE DIARY, and we see he was born 1739.

Oct. 27. "I returned to Mr. Hastings on foot ¾ of a mile."

Nov. 8. "This evening I went to S. N. to husking—rode behind him."

Nov. 15. "The last day of school at Hast; four week and three days (leaving out Thanksgiving) (Oct. 15--Oct. 25) at a dollar per week is £10, 2s 6d."

Nov. 16. "This afternoon I walked from Bro. Samuel's house to his shop with one staff in my right hand only, and carried a child between two and three years old on my back, and also brought her so from ye shop ad Domum Patris.

Page 30 of the diary was the following: "For teaching Latin from Aug. 12, 1757, nine weeks, £3, 7s, 6d." This was "for teaching Nehemiah Parker," who afterward became a very distinguished divine. "Keeping ye house of Rev^{d} A. Hutchinson £2. 5s."

Nov. 18. "To meeting the easiest Sabbath this five years."

Nov. 19. "This evening went to Deacon K—. Videndum Luke K. (Knowlton) qui reditus fuit from ye Army." He winds up with, "More pain on my bed."

Dec. 19. "I went down to Deacon Knowlton's on foot; snow over shoes; no path."

Dec. 22. "Last day of school at the school-house by Mr. Knowltons. Four weeks and three days, £10, 2s, 6d. Along for above this week there has not been above one and two and sometimes no scholars."

Dec. 24. "School began at Mr. Rice's."

Dec. 26. "Died Aunt Molly Smith about midnight. I ride a trotting horse home to fathers to the burying."

Dec. 27. "I was the coldest this day that ever I was agoing to the burying of Aunt Molly."

1760.

Jan. 13. "To Westborough meeting ye first time. Rev^{d} Mr. Parkman preached from Luke 2-14. I happened to read that very chapter the morning before."

Jan. 20. "I walked across ye fore seat in Westborough meeting-house on my foot—and at noon I walked twice across ye Rev^{d} Mr. Parkman's house."

Jan. 22. "Dr. Crosby kept school in ye forenoon this day, and sent ye children off at noon. In ye afternoon I rode home in a whorry."

Feb. 1. "Sider tastes just as it did after my measles turned last spring."

Mar. 1. "Spent this day in reading ye king of Prussia's life."

Mar. 6. "I walked several times across Mr. Smith's house to-day." He had been ill with his lame ankle for some time.

April 3. "Gen. fast—this day I went to meeting with but one staff, first time."

May 18. "Sabbath—I went to Grafton meeting-house on foot, with two staves."

May 22. "This day I set out on foot to go to Capt. Brooks?—but after I got to Mr. Cutler's I rode to Capt. B.^{s} and from ye Capt^{s} back to Mr. Cutler's, but came home on foot nocte" (night).

May 25. "Sab. to meeting with but one staff."

May 28. "Elect. (probably election sermon) to meeting with but one staff, and in Cor.$^{nt.}$ Sherman's chamber I walked as much as eight or ten times across it without any."

June 4. "Went to the raising of Mr. A. K.^{s} house."

July 25. "Sister Wheeler went home; at her house I walked all ye time among the company without any staff."

June 26. "Rode plow half this day."

July 2. "This forenoon I mowed two swaths from ye bars below our hill to ye great shagg-walnut."

July 13. "To meeting with my pail blew tow stockings and a pair of checked trowsers."

Aug. 4. "Mond. at Mr. Hutchinson's—walked consid-

erable without a staff. This day I recited to Mr. H., along with Millen and B., from ye 340 of A., first a lesson, not having crittically reviewed it since Feb., 1760. I made out as well as I expected."

Sept. 1. "Went to live at Mr. Hutchinson's. This month or in Oct. I went in a swimming with ye scholars."

Oct. 21. "Tuesday—twenty-one years old."

Oct. 25. "Saturd—towards night this day I came away from Mr. Hutchinson's to my father's."

Oct. 27. "Began school at ye school-house by Mr. Knowlton's at £10 per month."

Nov. 13. "This evening rode out to ye Doct[s] with Mr. Knowlton and took some cold; ye 14 and 15 felt very poor, and sitting in ye cold school-house continued so till ye 22."

Nov. 22. "School ended in ye school-house (4 weeks)."

Nov. 24. "I began school at Lieut. Rice's; kept three days. Ye 27th was yearly Thanksgiving. Ye 28 Doct. Crosby undertook that school and I came home to keep a month or six weeks at my Father's house."

Nov. 27. "Thanksgiving—to meeting at Mr. Cushings. Very rainy, almost knee-high in mud and water."

Nov. 28-29. "At my Fathers. I am still a studying some while I keep these schools, in reviewing what I have before learned. I am at about ye 55 over of Æ 3d. I began ye 3d Æ ye 27 of Octo. Mr. H. said I must get ye 3d, 4th and 5th AE[s] and my Greek grammar while I kept school. My classmate was to do the same —we (ie Battle and I) learned almost half Tully and ye 2d AEd in Virgil, from ye first of Sept. to ye 25th of Octo., and got into ye verbs of ye Greek grammar."

Nov. 30. "To Shrewsbury meeting."

Dec. 1. "School began at my Fathers (Monday)."

Dec. 7. "(Sabbath)—To Grafton meeting without a staff; left it by ye end of ye wall between ye orchard and ye pond. This night I dreamed I was riding along,

presently came to Doct. Porters house. I got off and went in (setting my staff by ye side of ye door) none were at home but Mrs. Porter. She said ye Doct. was gone half a hundred miles (ie 50). I walked about ye house considerable. She seemed very glad to see me; after a while I asked her about ye scholars; she said Beeker was come out of college, that he was a fine scholar. That ye two Robins's were come out also. That Levi Boardman was something poor at college (as she heard by John Sherman, a brother-in-law to T. Boardman). Just as I was going away she gave me some bread and cheese to put into my pocket. I went out and my horse was broke loose and was feeding in the street. I rode away to Revd. Mr. Lockwood's. He was glad to see me; talked with me considerable. I told him some about ye Grafton witchcraft, and that two of Mr. Hutchinson's sisters were going to ye Jerseys; he seemed glad. While I was there there came up a shower of rain. I ran out to take off my saddle, and as I run I tried to jump over ye gate (which was about four or five feet high), but could not quite, so I opened it, fetched in my saddle, and a little after as I was sitting, Miss Lockwood brought me a letter directed to me but had never been sent to me. I opened it, then it seemed like a book. I opened it, found some copper, one piece of silver, one of the new-fashioned things to wear about ye neck, and there was many other things to wear and I thought some more money down at ye bottom, while I knew none who sent it, but that it was some of my good friends. Mr. Lockwood's two puellas I thought looked very smiling on me, so I began to fix up to go to Deacon May's, intending to lodge there, but I waked before I set out."

Dec. 10. "School ended at my Fathers."

Dec. 13. "Went to Marlborough."

Dec. 30. "Returned to Fathers in the rain."

("I don't remember as she said anything about Oliver Deming.") This probably refers to the dream.

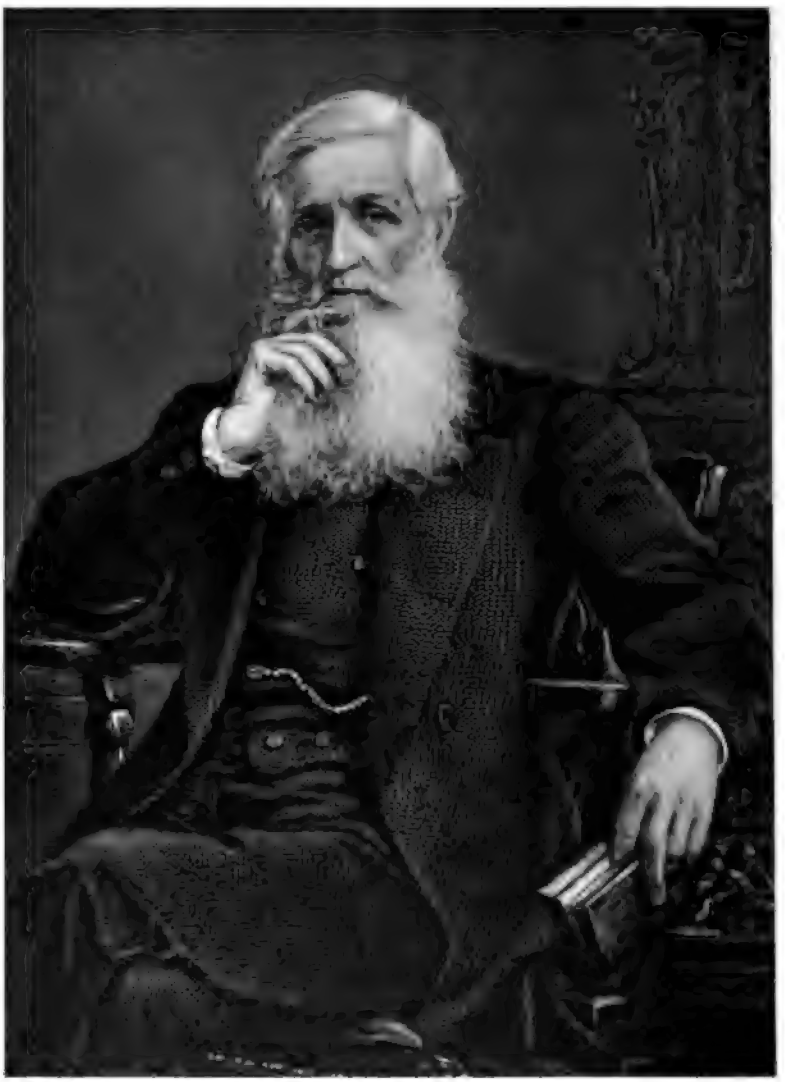
1761.

"When I came away from M., cousin H. gave me up a note my Father gave to Sarah Gore, and there was upon it due at this time £3, 6s, od lawful money. I had myself a dollar besides, and mother had a dollar when she went down with me, so my Father had £24, 15s, od in the note, and I £2, 5s, od, and mother £2, 5s, od."

"Mon. Returned to live at Rev^{d} Mr. Hutchinsons."

"Began school at Mr. John Adams of Uxbridge. All along this month, by too hard study and not exercising myself enough, I hurt my sense—my memory not so tenacious, and I could not apply my thoughts so closely as before. My blood something out of order, seemed to be stupified almost this day; my brain very much out of order. This evening I and Mr. Adams was at prayer. I was so overpowered with numbness and dizziness in head and brain that I liked to have fallen, but after I had kept a day or two more of school I was a little better, although I had symptoms enough to discourage a person. Ankle in general comfortable by day and night except ye 3-4 of April, before some rainy weather, it was some more painful. Came home to my Fathers house to live for some few days. The school was two weeks. I learned only ye 14 chapter of John while at schooling. For a few days past ankle not so easy at night."

"Returned from Fathers to Rev^{d} Mr. Hutchinsons. I have lived with Mr. Hutchinson fifteen weeks since Sept. 1, 1760, to this Day."



GEORGE BANCROFT.

Hon. Alfred S. Roe.
Charles T. Tatman, Esq.
Grand Army of the Republic:
Mr. Stephen C. Earle.
Mr. James B. Stone.

This committee, with the exception of Miss Bent, Messrs. Earle, Stone and Tatman, were present, and at the close of the meeting organized, with Mr. Roe as chairman; Mrs. Kent, secretary; Mr. Paine, treasurer, and adjourned to the afternoon of Wednesday, Sept. 5, at five o'clock, to meet at the office of Mr. Green in the Public Library.

At the adjourned meeting there were present Messrs. Roe, Crane, Paine, Stiles, Earle, Short, Green, Salisbury, Mrs. Chenoweth, Mrs. Kent, Mrs. Harlow.

It was voted that the memorial should consist of a bronze tablet, upon a foundation of rough stone of suitable size, quarried in Worcester.

That the selection and dimensions of this stone be left to a committee of two, consisting of Messrs. Earle and Green.

That the name of Chandler be introduced, in parentheses, in the inscription, it being the maiden name of Mr. Bancroft's mother, and that the inscription read: "Son of Aaron and Lucretia (Chandler) Bancroft."

That the word *Placed* be substituted for the word *erected* and that the inscription read: "*Placed* by citizens of Worcester Oct. 3, 1900."

That the word *stone* be substituted for the word *spot*, and that the inscription read: "Twenty feet east of this *stone*."

That the selection and dimensions of the tablet be left to the Stone and Tablet Committee.

That a Finance Committee be appointed consisting of Messrs. Paine, Salisbury and Crane; that it be em-

powered to receive and disburse all funds raised towards the memorial.

That a Committee on Celebration be appointed which shall plan and have charge of the details of the day and the manner of celebrating the same. This committee shall have power to increase its numbers.

This committee to consist of six members originally: Mr. Roe, Mrs. Chenoweth, Mrs. Kent, Miss Bent, Major Stiles and Mr. Short.

That the selection of the site and placing of stone also be left to the Stone and Tablet Committee.

A meeting was held Sept. 8 to listen to the report of the Stone and Tablet Committee. Present: Messrs. Roe, Crane, Stiles, Short, Earle, Salisbury, Green, Mrs. Chenoweth, Mrs. Kent, Miss Bent.

This sub-committee recommended that the tablet be of bronze, in the form of an ellipse; its dimensions 22x18 inches, and called attention to the fact that this oval form was a favorite of colonial days, and therefore particularly appropriate. They reported the submitting of their design to several firms and named the various bids received. That of Mr. George P. Tilton, Newburyport, Mass., was selected, and the recommendations of the committee were adopted.

This Stone and Tablet Committee also recommended the use of stone from south ledge, situated in the southeasterly part of Worcester, and that in form it should be a truncated pyramid, both of which recommendations were adopted, and the committee empowered to provide the same.

It was the general sentiment of the committee of the whole that as the local historical and patriotic organizations were equally interested in the movement, it would be desirable for them to join in defraying the expenses attending

the same, and each of the societies represented upon the committee cheerfully contributed its share of the expense.

Sept. 10 a meeting of the Committee on Celebration was held at the residence of Mrs. Daniel Kent, at which the order of exercises for Oct. 3 was adopted. It was also voted to extend invitations to Senator George F. Hoar, General James Grant Wilson, Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale, Rear-Admiral William T. Sampson, U. S. N., and Andrew McFarland Davis to be present, and that Senator Hoar, Dr. Hale and General Wilson be invited to speak; also that His Honor Mayor Dodge be asked to attend and formally receive the memorial into the city's keeping.

That a souvenir of the occasion be prepared for general distribution, containing a portrait of Mr. Bancroft, with pictures of the memorial and the Bancroft house, and that Benjamin T. Hill, Esq., Charles T. Tatman, Esq., Eben Francis Thompson, Esq., be invited to act as ushers.

Oct. 5th the Bancroft Memorial Committee met at the office of Mr. Green, Public Library building, and voted as follows:

That the plates prepared and used by the committee in connection with the memorial be placed in the keeping of the American Antiquarian Society.

That a complete account of the celebration, together with a report of the secretary of this committee, be published in the Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity.

That Mr. Crane, Mr. Paine and Mrs. Kent constitute a committee to arrange the material for publication.

The treasurer's report was read and approved.

GEORGIA TYLER KENT,
Secretary for the Committee.

FORMAL EXERCISES OF PLACING THE MEMORIAL, AND ITS ACCEPTANCE BY HIS HONOR MAYOR RUFUS B. DODGE, JR.

The memorial stone, with bronze tablet, marking the birthplace of George Bancroft on Salisbury street, was dedicated and transferred to the city at 3 P. M. Oct. 3, 1900, with appropriate ceremonies.

The fact that the day marked the centennial of the historian's birth added interest to the event.

The committee from the historical and patriotic societies of Worcester, under whose auspices the memorial was erected, had as guest of honor Rear-Admiral William T. Sampson. The venerable Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale of Boston and Gen. James Grant Wilson of New York made the chief addresses. Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis of Cambridge, Mass., was present, representing the family of the historian.

Those having charge of the exercises feared in the morning that it would be necessary to hold them indoors, but toward noon the sun began to burn through the clouds, and when three o'clock came the weather was almost perfect. A delightful breeze just barely rippled the flags, and the sky was clear save for a few light clouds near the horizon.

The stone, cut at the Ballard quarries, was already in place, and stands between the sidewalk and curbing, twenty feet west of the spot where the house was located in which the Bancrofts lived. Adjacent are the grounds belonging to Fred P. Daniels, and the carriage drive leading to Mr. Daniels' house is but a short distance to the westward. The land swelling slightly on the north formed a very good vantage ground for the audience while the exercises were in progress.

In shape the memorial is a truncated pyramid, though it tapers so slightly as to appear almost square, and may be

BIRTHPLACE OF GEORGE BANCROFT.

BANCROFT MEMORIAL STONE AND TABLET.

"But it is not for me to occupy your time. We stand upon the site of the home of the Bancrofts, where George Bancroft was born and which he had planned to visit again and pass the 90th anniversary of his birth, but illness prevented. As appropriate to the occasion, I will ask the members of the senior class of the Classical and English high schools to sing 'Home, Sweet Home.'"

At the close of Mr. Salisbury's address, the pupils of the senior classes at the high schools, under the direction of Seth Richards, sang "Home, Sweet Home," in which a number of the audience joined. Rev. Austin S. Garver, pastor of the First Unitarian Church, in which church the historian had listened to the teachings of his revered father in his early life, then offered prayer.

At the end of the prayer, Mr. Salisbury introduced Rear-Admiral William T. Sampson in the following words:

"It is a great gratification to the associations interested in this memorial that Rear-Admiral William T. Sampson is now present with us. His distinction as an officer and his great service to the country upon the sea of so recent date, make his tribute of respect to the memory of a former secretary of the navy and the founder of the Naval Academy at Annapolis most natural and impressive."

Admiral Sampson stood amid rousing applause and bowed to either side in acknowledgment of his cordial reception. In a few words Mr. Salisbury expressed the regret felt at the necessary absence of Senator George F. Hoar, who had been called to New York. General James Grant Wilson of New York, one of the editors of the American Encyclopedia, a veteran of the Civil War and a great admirer of the historian, was introduced, who spoke as follows:

the inductive method to the establishment of the laws of morality as a science. Removing to Berlin he became intimate with Schleier, Savigny, Lappenberg, Alexander and William Von Humboldt and Van Ess, and at Jena he made the acquaintance of Goethe, who in conversation with the young American was enthusiastic in his praise of Lord Byron, pronounced him 'the greatest of living poets,' and expressing regret that he had never seen the new world. Bancroft studied at Heidelberg with the historian Schlosser, and in 1822 he returned to his native land, accepting for one year the position of tutor at Harvard.

"Perhaps no better picture of Bancroft at the close of his student life could be presented than is contained in a note of introduction from the younger Humboldt to Pictel of Geneva, which city the young American visited before returning to the United States: 'Je prends la liberté, mon respectable ami et confrère, de vous recommander un jeune Américain qui a faite d'excellentes études de philologie et d'histoire philosophique en Allemagne. M. Bancroft est bien digne de vous voir de prês; il est l'ami de mon frère et il appartient à cette noble race de jeunes Américains qui trouvent que le vrai bonheur de l'homme dans la culture de l'intelligence.'

"Twelve years later Bancroft published the first volume of his 'History of the United States,' and in 1874 the tenth and concluding volume of his magnum opus appeared, the author during that period filling a place in President Polk's Cabinet, also later representing his country at the British and German courts. During the Franco-German War, while residing in Berlin, Bancroft celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his graduation at Göttingen, and in reply to congratulations from Bismarck, then in the field, he sent him a letter dated Sept. 30, 1870, saying:

" 'I was equally surprised and delighted that while you are tasked with the work of renovating Europe, you yet found

time to send me lately a friendly congratulation on my being spared so long. It is indeed a great happiness to survive until these times, when three or four men who loved nothing so much as peace, and after long and hard service, were only seeking to close their career in tranquillity, win during a war of defence more military glory than the wildest imagination conceived, and in three months bid fair to bring the German hope of a thousand years to its fulfillment. So I gratefully accept the good will conceded to my old age; for old age, which is almost always nearest to eternity, is this year the mightiest on earth, this German War being conducted to its ends by the aged. You, to be sure, are young, but Roon must be classed among the venerables; Moltke is within 23 days as old as I am, and your king in years and youthfulness excels us all. May I not be proud of my contemporaries? Retain for me your regard in the little time that remains for me.'

"Before Bancroft's departure from Berlin he was overwhelmed with honors. The Royal Academy gave him a farewell dinner, and the universities of Berlin, Heidelberg and Munich united in a parting tribute signed by four score and ten professors. The document says: 'Your name is the intellectual possession of every one among us. You have contributed to the most complete understanding of the problems set for a free people in that, as one of the foremost historians, you have portrayed those immortal deeds which led to the rise of a great free state beyond the sea and which will find in every age a response in the hearts of free-minded men. We feel a just pride that you may be remembered among those who most thoroughly appreciate German science. We can recall with satisfaction your name to prove that as the representative of the United States, you combined the spirit of true scientific procedure with the insight of a statesman.'

"In a communication from Washington, when past four

score, the venerable historian writes: 'I have your valued letter and have made one or two corrections in the article about myself which you kindly sent me. There is one point which was further reaching than is mentioned in the article. Great Britain, you will remember, for a long period refused to concede that her emigrants, whether from Great Britain or Ireland, to the United States might throw off their allegiance to their mother country and become citizens of the United States. The principle involved in this question was the one I had to discuss with the government of Prussia, and in a treaty obtained the formal recognition of the expatriation at the will of the individual emigrant. A certain degree of supremacy still attaching to several states, I negotiated with them all, one by one, a corresponding treaty. England watched the course of negotiations, resolving to conform to the principle which Count Bismarck might adopt for Prussia. It was this treaty with the German powers which in fact settled the question for Great Britain, who immediately gave up the claim to perpetual allegiance and accepted for its own dominions the principle which Prince Bismarck had accepted for Germany; so that the treaty with Bismarck was in fact a settlement of the whole question with Great Britain.'

"In another letter to your speaker Mr. Bancroft says: 'Great Britain had raised a doubt as to the interpretation of the treaty settling the northwestern boundary of the United States. I, who had been a member of the Polk Cabinet when the treaty was framed, and who, as minister to England after the formation of the treaty, saw the first beginning of the attempt in England to change the line in a way very much to the interest of Great Britain, successfully prevented the progress of the attempt. Mr. Seward had with England agreed on Switzerland as an arbitrator, and had further agreed that the arbiter might make a compromise boundary. This was a kind of a confession that

would naturally lead the arbiter to a compromise decision which might grievously offend neither party. Soon after Mr. Seward's death I, who was then minister at Berlin, wrote to the government that where each party consented to a compromise, a compromise was pretty certain to be the decision of the arbiter; and that if they would adhere strictly to the point that the arbiter should have nothing to do but to decide the meaning of the treaty, and would agree to the King of Prussia as the arbiter, I believed that Prussia would not be swayed by any family connections, but would certainly deliver a righteous verdict, and I recommended that that course be adopted. General Grant's cabinet, which followed Mr. Seward, never for themselves entertained the idea of a compromise, and they adopted my proposal of referring the matter to the King of Prussia. The argument and the reply to the argument of Great Britain were written, every word of them, by myself.'

"The settlement of the Oregon question, which brought us perilously near war with the mother country, was Mr. Bancroft's last public service. At the opening of the argument submitted to the German emperor in December, 1871, he said: 'The treaty of which the interpretation is submitted to your majesty's arbitration was ratified more than a quarter of a century ago. Of the sixteen members of the British Cabinet which framed and presented it for the acceptance of the United States, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Aberdeen and all the rest but one (Mr. Gladstone) are no more. The British minister at Washington who signed it is dead. Of American statesmen concerned in it, the minister at London, the president and vice-president, the secretary of state, and every one of the president's constitutional advisers except one have passed away. I alone remain, and after finishing the three score years and ten that are the days of our years, am selected by my country to uphold its rights.' Nine and twenty years have passed since these

pathetic words were spoken by the American minister. During that period he and the single survivor of Sir Robert Peel's Cabinet have followed their distinguished contemporaries—Bancroft in 1891 and the gifted Gladstone seven years later.

"Mr. Bancroft's well-appointed Berlin residence on the Thiergarten was, said Ranke, the most popular house in the German capital, for there all classes of people could meet together in friendly intercourse. Statesmen, scholars, soldiers, poets, artists and men of science met at his house and table. Bismarck and Von Moltke were not infrequent guests, and there could be seen the diplomatic circle and such men as Dorner, Droyson, Helmholtz, Mommsen and Von Ranke. Bancroft often rode on horseback in company with the great chancellor, and visited him at Varzin, where no other member of the diplomatic corps was ever received. 'To this day,' said Prof. Ranke in 1883, 'I have never ceased to regret the departure from Berlin of my friend George Bancroft.' The American, speaking of the German historian, said he recalled the description Johnson gave of Garrick, 'as the cheerfullest man of his age.' While he prefers to burn the midnight oil, continuing his labors until 1 or 2 in the morning, I have always preferred to work by daylight, doing, like Sir Walter Scott, much of my writing before breakfast. In summer I was often at my desk before 6 o'clock. My afternoons and evenings are devoted to exercise, reading and society. For 50 years it has been my habit to spend several hours of each day in the open air, and to that practice I chiefly attribute the preservation of my mental and physical health to nearly four score and ten. In answer to your speaker's inquiry, he said: 'No; I do not recall any historian except my friend Von Ranke who continued to work beyond 89, and but few scholars that have reached that age—Sophocles, Fontenelle and Chevreul—being three instances which occur to me at the moment.'

"When nearly four score and ten, and after he had abandoned his favorite exercise of riding on horseback, your speaker accompanied Mr. Bancroft on an afternoon walk from his house in Washington. Arriving in Georgetown, where we turned after a half hour's stroll, and thinking the venerable man might be weary, his companion remarked that perhaps they had better take a passing street car and ride back. To this suggestion the still vigorous veteran promptly replied: 'Are you fatigued, sir?' and so they completed their three or more miles' walk. They chanced to meet again that evening at a dinner table, when the historian, none the worse for his long walk, merrily related how he had tired out his young New York friend, who became fatigued and wished to ride back. A few days later your speaker was one of a small circle who enjoyed listening to Mr. Bancroft's reminiscences of Byron, Bunsen, Humboldt, Macaulay, and many other celebrated men with whom he was acquainted during the first of the century.

"The eminent statesman, scholar and historian died in his Washington residence Jan. 17, 1891. An official announcement of the event was made by the president of the United States, and the Senate, on motion of your distinguished fellow citizen, Senator Hoar, adjourned in order that its members might attend his funeral. Among the many tributes received by Mr. Bancroft's son was the following telegram from the emperor of Germany, transmitted through Count Arco Valley, the German minister to Washington.

" 'Sir: His majesty, the emperor and king, remembering the relation of friendship which for many years existed between His Majesty the late Emperor William and the late Hon. George Bancroft as minister of the United States to Berlin, has directed me to express to you, and to your family, his most sincere sympathy with the great loss which has fallen upon you and your country.'

MRS. LUCRETIA (CHANDLER) BANCROFT.

He sleeps; he can not die!
As evening's long-drawn sigh,
Lifting the rose leaves on his placid mound,
Spreads all their sweets around.
So, laden with his song, the breezes blow
From where the nestling sedge
Frets our rude ocean's edge
To the smooth sea beyond the peaks of snow.
His soul the air enshrines, and leaves but dust below!

REV. DR. HALE'S ADDRESS.

When Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale was introduced, there was a round of applause. Dr. Hale stood on the memorial stone, and his imposing form towered above every one as his voice rang out so it could be heard even at the farthest ends of the crowd. Dr. Hale said:

"I was reading aloud to my mother one summer afternoon in 1834, when my father came into the room, smiling, and said to her, 'Here's Mr. Bancroft. The first volume of the history is finished and is to be put to press.' With him was a tall, black-haired young man, quick and active in his movements, and with the same gracious smile which I was afterward to know for more than 50 years. My father was a printer, and Mr. Bancroft had called to advise with him as to the printing of the first volume of his history. His preface of that year, dated on the 16th of June—so little did he know of what was before him—begins with these words: 'I have formed the design of writing a history of the United States from the discovery of the American continent to the present time.' Near the end he says: 'The work which I have undertaken will necessarily extend to four, or perhaps five, volumes.'

"As the society knows, he published twelve volumes before his death, and these came down only to the inauguration of George Washington as president.

"In the year 1839 I became an under teacher in the Boston Latin School, and, prominent in the remarkable class of boys who were under my care, were Mr. Bancroft's two

stepsons, William Davis Bliss and Alexander Bliss. I was but little older myself than the elder of these boys. We were all good friends in the simplicity of the school-room; and Mr. Bancroft, who was uniformly kind to young men, was good enough to receive me into his confidence so far as their education went. He permitted me to walk and talk with him as a companion. I recall now with gratitude the long constitutional walk which he would take after his day's work, on the sidewalk around Boston Common. It was on such occasions that he talked to me, in some detail, about his own habits of literary work. Among other things, he said that after he had been delving all day, or perhaps for many days, in old documents, pamphlets or manuscripts, he would not permit himself to write without carefully reading two or three chapters of Gibbon. Beginning with as simple and easy companionship as this, his kindness to me never failed.

"I would hardly speak of this, but that I think that it illustrates his readiness to help forward everybody who consulted him. And I like to think that he was curiously free from a certain amusing jealousy, sometimes provoking, when an author thinks that he has a pre-emption to the subject which engages him. Mr. Bancroft always seemed to me delighted when he found that anybody else had his interest, either in our national history or in the larger subject of the reign of God.

"Mr. Sparks had seen, at about the same time, the necessity of examining the archives of the different states for historical documents; but his work was confined mostly to the generation of the Revolution, while Mr. Bancroft's went as far back as the middle of the 15th century. I think he told me once that he visited every state capital in his search for original authorities. He exhumed from old and forgotten reservoirs much detail which his successors chose to regard as commonplace.

"I confess that I am annoyed when I sometimes hear the

students of what pleases to call itself the 'new school' of history, refer with contempt to Bancroft's work, as if he were indifferent to accuracy, and as if he disregarded 'contemporary authorities.' My young friends must permit me to say that as far as the history of the United States is concerned, he is the Daniel Boone, he is the great pioneer into wilds of original research. I would not attempt to say how much he has given to writers since his time who suppose that they are entitled to the honors of discoverers.

"Dropping off from the Federal circle in which, in early life, he lived, Mr. Bancroft believed literally in a government of the people, for the people, by the people. He was not afraid, for instance, of the splendid audacities by which Andrew Jackson may be said to have revised the Constitution of the United States, or, at all events, changed forever the administration of the central government. At the time, some of Mr. Bancroft's utterances were ridiculed as what was called 'transcendental' and 'unintelligible.' In the Fourth of July oration delivered in this town he said that "Democracy is the victory of man over his accidents." Sixty years have illustrated this proposition so distinctly that it now seems commonplace. It is fair to recur to it by way of illustrating the loyalty with which he always expressed his confidence in the people—a confidence like that of Abraham Lincoln or of Garfield—that if you will give time enough and opportunity, the voice of the people may be fairly called the voice of God.

"When critics on the other side of the ocean speak with a certain contempt of Mr. Bancroft's work in history, that contempt, at bottom, generally means that the critic really supposes that government should be delegated to some particular high class, and that the people exist simply to obey the requisitions of such governors.

"George Bancroft believed in the supremacy of God in heaven, and that you and I are His children, who may be

inspired by His Holy Spirit to will and to do His pleasure. The voice of such people is the voice of God. That is the belief of George Bancroft, whose anniversary you celebrate to-day."

His Honor Mayor Rufus B. Dodge, Jr., who formally accepted the memorial for the people of the city of Worcester, said:—

MAYOR DODGE'S ACCEPTANCE.

"The city of Worcester, whose honor has been dignified by the life of Bancroft, with gratification sees this appropriate mark designating the place of his birth, and thanks most heartily those whose thoughtful minds have thus fittingly designated an important historic spot within her borders. To achieve a world reputation is a possibility for but few, and to achieve it wholly by merit without the aid of some great moment of fortune, places the possessor beyond even the unspoken thought of criticism. The author of fiction may profit by the fads and fancies of human moods, but the historian and philosopher write for all times; their work is scrutinized in every part and from every standpoint; is subject to the most searching and exact analysis. It is the excellence of genius that can make a Macaulay, a Carlyle or a Bancroft. It meets unchanged all tests, is found wanting in no balance.

"George Bancroft was one of the greatest of great Americans, as he was of those Americans who demonstrated to the world that this young republic could produce men equal to any. His father was a rare man, whose influence, always good, gave Worcester benefit at a time when strong minds to guide and broad ideas to enlarge were of great moment. The influence of Dr. Aaron Bancroft will not be forgotten, and in this community his honor is scarcely less than that of his illustrious son.

"Impelled by the inspiring example of such a father, whose worth made him universally respected, a constant inspiration to achievement, the son added a brilliancy to the family name which carried it through all civilization. Time will bring, as it has already brought, marked changes in this vicinity; business activity may destroy the quiet of a spot once beautiful in nature, which gave to inherent genius a quickened impulse, but this site will remain still memorable for his life, as well known and universally interesting after generations have come and gone as in our own.

"The chief of neighboring hills, now graced by the name of Bancroft, whose stolid form greets the clouds, and whose crest has glistened with sunshine for limitless time, stood sentinel of his youth and greeted his gaze as it now greets ours, impressive in its strength. Steadfast and fixed is that rugged form, emblematic of the fame our townsman won, which shall be as lasting as this hill itself. This tablet will tell in the long future where the light first greeted his life, but the rays of the sun which here met his gaze find the credit of his power in their sweep of the globe.

"Just pride do we feel that our city was the home of this statesman, philosopher and historian, great in things lasting, weak in nothing detracting from manhood, with a character irreproachable, and all brilliancy of a career meritorious, bringing distinction to the Commonwealth's heart. It is our right to feel proud, it is a privilege to erect this material reminder in token of his merits to the momory of a man so noted that the place of his birth has an interest for all.

"The city, with thankfulness, accepts this memorial to his worth, with full recognition of all it implies, unreservedly giving to his name that largest honor a people can feel."

At the conclusion of the mayor's address an opportunity was given those present to greet Rear-Admiral Sampson, and for fully half an hour men, women, boys and girls filed

past him, each receiving besides a hearty shake of the hand a courteous bow and a pleasant smile.

It was 4.30 o'clock when the reception was over, and the rear-admiral entered a carriage and was driven to the railway station on his return to Charlestown.

The souvenir programme that was distributed immediately before the opening of the exercises is of very neat design. It contains a cut of the tablet and stone, one of George Bancroft at the age of 54 years, one of the house in which he was born, one of his father and one of his mother. On the last page is a list of the societies that united in securing the memorial.

$2.00 Per Year. *Single Numbers, 25 cents.*

THIS NUMBER CONTAINS: Memorial to Mrs. E. B. Crane. Memorial to Mr. Wm. B. Harding. Treasurer's Report. Librarian's Report.

PROCEEDINGS

... OF ...

The Worcester Society of Antiquity,

WORCESTER, MASS.

1900. NOVEMBER-DECEMBER. No. 7.

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TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

December, 1900.

The Library contained, Jan. 1, 1900, between 15,000 and 16,000 volumes.

The additions during the past year number 1541 volumes, 2314 pamphlets, and about 332 miscellaneous articles, including maps, pictures, photographs, relics, etc.; also something over 2000 newspapers.

The largest contribution was from the estate of Mrs. Hester N. Wetherell, consisting of 544 volumes, 650 pamphlets (including magazines), 36 photographs, 6 framed pictures of the Centennial Exhibition of 1876, 1 framed broadside of the Declaration of Independence, and a model (bronze) of the Pilgrim Monument at Plymouth; a testimonial of a subscription to the monument fund by Rejoice Newton of Worcester.

We have received from Mr. Nathaniel Paine a large collection of papers, pamphlets, broadsides, pictures, 122 photographs, and many miscellaneous articles.

From Miss Ellen B. Bancroft (Petersham) a miscellaneous collection of relics, curiosities, crockery, etc. These were delivered in person by Miss Bancroft, who has added many interesting and old-time articles to our museum.

Mrs. C. W. Boyden has presented a large case of drawers and has loaned the Society portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Elbridge Boyden, and a large family portrait of "Little Girl and Dog."

From Mrs. Mary A., widow of Sewell Thayer (she died April 14, 1900), 2 large framed photographs: one of Charles E. Thayer, United States consul at Aspinwall under Grant's administration. He died there of yellow fever. He was born in Worcester. The other a crayon photo

of J. Abbot Perry, who died at Worcester in August, 1895, aged 59 years. He was at one time vice-consul at Aspinwall. These were presented by Miss Mary L. Ames.

Mrs. Horace Kendall presented a dress coat which belonged to John B. Gough, given to Mr. Kendall by Mr. Gough.

An interesting collection has been received from Mr. Stephen J. Waite, which belonged to the late William A. Brigham, including old Worcester and Boston directories, copies of the Worcester Magazine, manuscripts, bookplates, map and old picture of Boston, 1722 and 1757, and commission of William Eaton signed by James Madison, 1813.

From George M., Louis A. and John B. Wheeler of Petersham, 2 palm-leaf looms, representing the palm-leaf industry fifty years ago.

From Mrs. H. E. Sawyer of Clinton, a box of old books and other things which belonged to Ephraim H. Hinds of West Boylston, one of the early settlers of that town.

Mr. Henry M. Wheeler, before leaving Worcester for Andover, Mass., presented the Society with 45 volumes, 166 pamphlets, 200 papers, pictures, drawings; a collection of newspaper cuttings, all alphabetically arranged; and a lot of photographic negatives of historic places visited by him.

Mr. Horace A. Young has added to his large donation of coins several Greek, Egyptian and Turkish pieces, collected by him during his travels in those countries.

An old doctor's sign and saddle bags used by the late Dr. Dean Towne (in his early practice of medicine) were presented to the Society by Miss Josephine E. Tyler, and the following record was copied from his genealogy:

Dean Towne, M. D., son of Benjamin and Sarah Burt Towne (who was daughter of Jonathan Burt), was born in Windsor, Vt., Feb. 7, 1810.

After leaving the district school he attended the academy at Thetford, Vt., and Kimball Union Academy at Meriden, N. H.

He commenced the study of medicine with Prof. Willard Parker, Prof. David Parker and Dr. B. O. Tyler; attended lectures at Dartmouth, N. H., Woodstock and Castleton, Vt., Medical Schools. Graduated from the latter with the class, Nov. 23, 1833.

He practiced medicine at Windsor and Hartland, Vt., about twelve years.

In 1844 he went to Shrewsbury, Mass., and there practiced his profession for six years. He moved to Worcester, Mass., in 1850.

He married Sally D. Sibley, daughter of Hon. Francis Sibley of Oxford, Mass., Jan. 9, 1851. She died March 29, 1851.

He married, 2nd, Mrs. Samaria E. T. Orvis of Alstead, N. H., Oct. 29, 1863. She died Jan. 30, 1887.

Dr. Towne died at Worcester March 4, 1895, aged 85 years.

We have received regularly from the publishers the *Worcester Messenger*, *The Old South Record*, *The Webster Times*, and *The Oxford Mid-Weekly* (of which we have now a complete file) until its suspension July 25, 1900, after being issued nearly fifteen years.

The work in the Librarian's department has so materially increased in volume within the past few years that it has entirely outgrown the physical strength of your custodian. An effort has been made to keep the Library in fair order by arranging the books and pamphlets as to subjects. But unless the present crowded condition of the cases can be relieved, that system can not successfully be continued. At the present moment about one-half of the library room is simply a place of storage. Two additional book stacks, with at least a capacity for three thousand volumes, will be required to provide room to continue the above arrangement.

THOMAS A. DICKINSON.
Librarian.

In the absence of Chairman Dodge of Committee on Membership Biography, the Secretary read their report as follows:

MRS. E. B. CRANE.

Salona Aldrich Rawson was born in Mendon, Mass., May 31, 1837. She was a daughter of George Rawson and Lois Aldrich, his wife, all of Mendon. She was married to Ellery Bicknell Crane, in Beloit, Wisconsin, May 13, 1859. In the spring of 1863, they settled in Boston, Mass., and removed from there to Worcester in April, 1867, since which time the latter place has been their home.

Mrs. Crane's early life was spent in her native town, where she enjoyed all the advantages of school life there given, and after attending the Worcester Oread Institute during one season, she went West and completed her education at the Beloit Female Seminary, from which institution she graduated in 1856.

Soon after making their home in Worcester, Mass., Mrs. Crane became identified with the Church of the Unity, and was ever ready to lend a helping hand to promote church work and sociability among its members. For many years prior and up to the time of her death, which occurred April 4, 1900, she represented that church on the Board of Managers at the Orphans' Home, or Children's Friend Society, a work in which she was deeply interested.

For nearly twenty years she was a member of the Worcester Woman's Club.

Mrs. Crane possessed a genial, social nature, and enjoyed to a remarkable degree the society of her friends. She shrank from no effort to do for those counted among her associates. Although very pronounced in her likes and dislikes, when once enrolled as a friend no ordinary event could break the continuity.

After becoming a member of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, she had taken a lively interest in all its affairs,

SALONA A. CRANE.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1900.

RECEIVED.

Dec. 5, 1899.

Balance forward—savings banks,		$1,912 52
" " —cash,		74 02
Assessments,	$750 45	
Rent of hall,	641 50	
Advertising,	28 00	
Proceedings,	61 00	
Miscellaneous,	8 15	
Interest on deposit—savings banks,	53 04	
		$3,528 68

PAYMENTS.

Printing,	$545 23	
Salary of Librarian,	400 00	
Heating and light,	72 32	
Taxes,	89 60	
Insurance premium,	42 50	
Royal Steam Heating Co.,	52 28	
Postage,	41 86	
Help,	57 50	
Miscellaneous,	128 31	
Dec., 1900.		
Balance forward—savings banks,	1,912 52	
" " —cash,	123 51	
Balance due Treasurer from Librarian,	63 05	
		$3,528 68

GIFTS FOR THE LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, 1899. 88 Vol., 794 Pam., 324 Papers.
American Geographical Society. Bulletin as issued.
Arnold, Geo. E. One Ancient Inkstand.
Avery, Elroy M. (Cleveland, O.). 4 Pam.
American Museum of Natural History. 3 Pam.
Ames, Miss Mary L. 2 Large Framed Photographs from the late Mrs. Mary A. Thayer.
Abbot, Wm. F. 45 Pam., 31 Papers.
Academy of Science (St. Louis). 8 Pam.
Arnold, James N. 1 Vol.
American Congregational Association. 1 Pam.
Bancroft, Miss Ellen B. Collection of Curiosities, Ancient Crockery, Relics, Etc.
Boyden, Lewis A. Picture of Old Meeting House in Mendon.
Boyden, Mrs. C. W. Case of Drawers, Framed Pictures and Portraits.
Barton, E. M. 8 Vol., 60 Pam., 81 Papers.
Boynton, Chas. D., the Estate of, by Ledyard Bill of Paxton. 100 Pam., 40 Papers.
Barrows, Myron. 3 War Pictures.
Buffington, E. D. 1 Pam.
Bill, Hon. Ledyard. 1 Ancient Table (Ex. of 1889).
Banfield, Dr. 1 Vol., 46 Pam., 27 Papers, 3 Mis.
Boston Transit Co. 1 Vol.
Blanchard, F. S. & Co. 34 Vol., 1 Pam.
Bassett, Geo. W. 2 Vol.
Brown, Freeman. 1 Pam.
Brown, Mrs. Theo. Photograph of Theo. Brown and 1 Vol.
Baldwin, Charles C. 11 Vol., 17 Pam.
Bragg, Alexis. 1 Pam.
Briggs, Mrs. F. W. Collection of Papers, Etc.
Bancroft, Mrs. James H. 10 Pam.
Brooklyn Library. 2 Pam.
Bradbury, Agnew & Co. 1 Vol.
Coolidge, Rev. A. H. 18 Pam.
Connecticut Hist. Society. 1 Pam.
Clark, Mrs. Jonas Gilman. Memorial of J. G. Clark.
Clark, A. S. (New York). Book Catalogue.
Commissioner of Education. 2 Vol.
Chamberlain, D. H., LL. D. 1 Pam.
Crane, John C. 8 Relics.

Crane, Hon. E. B. 3 Pewter Pieces, Picture of Boston Harbor, 1844. 3 Vol.
Colorado College. 1 Pam.
Chaffee, Albert H. 2 Pam.
Cowperthwaite, Wm. C. 2 Pam.
Canadian Institute. 1 Vol., 1 Pam.
Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences. 1 Pam.
Dickinson, Mrs. Wm. 25 Vol., 52 Papers.
Dickinson, Stuart. 1 Vol.
Drew, Allis Co. 62 Directories.
Douglass, Mrs. Anna E. 1 Vol.
Dean, Chas. L. (Malden). 1 Vol.
Davis, Walter A. (City Clerk, Fitchburg). 1 Vol.
Dennis, Jas. E. Tape for Tying Pamphlets.
Davis, C. W. 1 Vol., 3 Papers.
Dedham Hist. Society. Historical Register as issued.
Davis, Charles E. 20 Vol., 20 Pam., 10 Papers.
Davis, Gilbert G. 55 Vol., 180 Pam.
Dickinson, Miss Rhoda A. 1 Paper.
Department of State. Consular Reports as issued.
Dodge, Rufus B., Jr. 1 Pam.
Dodge, H. W. (from the Estate of Reuben R. Dodge). 4 Vol., 6 Pam., 3 Papers.
Eliot Hist. Society. 7 Pam.
Estey, James L. 11 Vol.
Essex Institute. 2 Pam.
Fletcher, Miss C. L. Old Rubber Shoe found in Salt Marsh near Boston.
Freeman, Henry. Bull's-eye Window Glass of 1810.
Fitch, Mrs. Mary E. 32 Vol.
Francis, Dr. Geo. E. 1 Pam.
Forbes, Wm. T. 1 Pam.
Fay, Merrick J. 25 Vol., 51 Pam., 7 Mis.
Fidelity & Casualty Co. 1 Pam.
Gray, Albert. Old Bank Bill of 1836.
Green, Hon. Samuel A. 2 Vol., 11 Pam.
Green, James, Esq. 20 Pam., 7 Papers.
Hammond, B. J. 1 Pam.
Harris, Calvin L. 3 Mis.
Hale, Mrs. Ella A. B. 1 Mis.
Hubbard, Geo. 13 Pam.
Hist. and Scientific Society of Manitoba. 3 Pam.
Houghton, Mrs. Geo. M. 1 Pam.

Humphrey, Geo. W., 5 Pam.
Hildreth, Mrs. A. P. 3 Maps, Old Dash Churn and 1 Bicycle of 1876.
Howard, Joseph Jackson, LL. D. (London, Eng.). 5 Pam.
Holy Cross College. Holy Cross Purple as issued.
Hist. Society of Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania Magazine as issued.
Harris, Henry F. 1 Vol.
Howland, Miss. 86 Vol., 48 Pam.
Holman, Charles R. 2 Vol.
Ipswich Hist. Society. 2 Pam.
Johns Hopkins University. University Studies as issued.
Kansas State Hist. Society. Vol., 2 Pam., 1 Paper.
Keyes, I. G. Eight-Dollar Bank Bill, 1853.
Knox, J. B. Frame Photograph.
Kendall, Mrs. Horace. Dresscoat, once belonging to John B. Gough.
Leicester Public Library. 1 Pam.
Lancaster Town Library. 2 Pam.
Logan, James. 1000 envelopes.
Library Co. of Philadelphia. Bulletin as issued.
Lawton, Mrs. Reed. Ancient Card Basket.
Lamb, James H. 1 Pam.
Leonard, B. A. (DePere, Wis.). 1 Paper.
Mower, Mandeville (N. Y.). 4 Papers.
May, Miss E. G. 3 Papers.
Moore, Miss Annie M. 1 Relic, 2 Vol., 49 Pam., 42 Papers.
Macmillan Co. Book Review as issued.
Maine Hist. Society. 1 Vol., 3 Pam.
Manchester Hist. Society. 4 Pam.
Murray, Thos. Hamilton. 1 Vol.
Museo Nacional (Rio de Janeiro). 2 Vol., 2 Pam.
McCloud, Mrs. E. L. Old Sampler.
McAleer, Geo. One-Dollar Bill, Franklin County Bank, 1859. Two-Dollar Bill, Shelburne Falls Bank, 1860.
Miller, Horatio L. 17 Pam.
New Jersey Hist. Society. 2 Pam.
New Hampshire State Library. 1 Vol., 2 Pam.
Newberry Library. 1 Pam.
New England Historical Genealogical Society. Genealogical Register as issued.
Nichols, Dr. Chas. L. 1 Vol.
New Hampshire Historical Society. 1 Pam.
Nicholson, Geo. W. 1 Relic.
Oneida Historical Society (Utica). 2 Pam., 3 Papers.
Ontario Historical Society. 1 Pam.

O'Gara, T. F. Old Sword of Statue of Justice on Old Court House.
Old South Record as issued.
O'Neil, Desmond (Boston). 1 Pam.
Oxford Mid-weekly as issued.
Putnam & Davis. 3 Vol.
Parks Commission (Worcester). 1 Pam.
Peabody, Dr. Charles A. 1 Pam.
Putnam, Samuel H. 13 Vol., 22 Pam.
Pickett, Josiah. 5 Vol.
Prouty, Geo. W. Ball and Chain found on Bogue farm, N. C., in 1863.
Paine, Nathaniel. 24 Vol., 95 Pam., 60 Papers, 238 Pictures, Etc.
Paine, Mrs. Nathaniel. 2 Vol.
Providence Public Library. 1 Pam.
Providence Athenæum. 1 Pam.
Rhode Island Historical Society. Publications as issued.
Record Commission (Trenton, N. J.). 1 Pam.
Record Commissioners (Prov., R. I.). 1 Vol.
Reed, Mrs. Hannah W. 30 Vol., 450 Pam., 84 Papers.
Riordan, Jno. J. 1 Pam.
Rice, F. P. 1 Pam.
Raymond, Maj. E. T. 38 Papers.
Rice, Francis H. 93 Vol., 52 Papers.
State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 2 Pam.
Smith, Wm. A. 1 Pam.
Sheldon, George. 1 Paper.
Sammons, Mrs. Amy Grider (Canajoharie, N. Y.). Dance Mask of Iroquois Indians, painted by her father, Prof. Rufus A. Grider.
Seaver, Nathaniel, Jr. (Leicester). 9 Vol., 7 Pam.
Saxe, Jas. A. Package of Papers, Etc.
State Library (Albany). 4 Vol., 5 Pam.
State Historical Society, Iowa. Historical Record as issued and 1 Vol.
Salisbury, Hon. Stephen. 4 Vol., 2 Pam., 2 Relics.
Swan, Robert T. 1 Vol.
Stiles, Maj. F. G. Indian Arrowpoint.
Secretary of the Commonwealth. 7 Vol., 1 Pam.
Staples, Rev. Carlton A. 1 Pam.
State Library of Pennsylvania. 41 Vol.
Stoddard, Ed. Davis. Collection of Seals.
Stone, Wm. J. E. 1 Vol.
Staples, S. E. Packages of Papers. 22 Pam.
Sawyer, Mrs. H. E. 11 Vol., 32 Pam., 8 Mis.
Snow, Hon. Samuel (South Hyannis, Cape Cod). 1 Vol.
Stone, Prof. Geo. E. Mass. A. College. 1 Pam.

Smithsonian Institution. 1 Vol.
Taft, Mrs. Caroline A. 2 Pam.
Taylor, J. Thomas (Taunton). Book Catalogue.
Tyler, Rev. Albert. Photograph of Rapier carried by Gabriel Bernon.
Tyler, Miss Josephine E. Doctor's Sign and Saddle Bags which belonged to Dr. Deane Towne.
Thayer, Corwin M. 1 Photograph.
United States National Museum. 1 Vol.
University of the State of New York. 3 Vol., 3 Pam.
University of California. 1 Pam.
Upham, Henry P. (St. Paul). 1 Vol., 5 Pam.
Université de Toulouse, through the Smithsonian Institute. 6 Pam.
Whitcomb, Mrs. A. Eliza. Worcester Papers, Magazines, etc., 2 Pictures.
Wheeler, Dr. H. L. 52 Papers.
Wilder, Harvey B. 3 Pam.
Wheeler, Wm. J. 1 Vol., 1 Pam.
Ware, Geo. O. (South Bend, Ind.). 1 Paper.
Westboro Historical Society. 1 Vol.
Worcester County Law Library. 1 Pam.
Wheeler, Henry M. 5 Large Maps, Pictures, Drawings, Collection of Photograph Negatives, Scraps, Newspaper Cuttings, Etc.
White, Mrs. B. F. 1 Vol.
Walker, Hon. J. H. 4 Vol.
Worcester Board of Trade. 1 Vol.
Worcester Board of Health. 2 Pam., 12 Papers.
Williamson, Frank S. 2 Pictures, 8 Vol., 39 Pam., 60 Papers.
Worcester Public Library. 1 Pam.
Williams, Chas. A. 1 Pam.
Waite, Stephen J. 42 Vol., 13 Pam., 36 Papers.
Wheeler, G. M. 1 Vol.
Worcester N. H. Society. 1 Vol.
Wetherell, Mrs. Hester N., the Estate of. 544 Vol., 650 Pam., Collection of Photographs, Framed Pictures, Broad Sides, and a Model of the Pilgrim Monument at Plymouth in Bronze, presented to Rejoice Newton of Worcester.
Wheeler, Geo. M., Louis A. and John B. (Petersham). Two hand-Looms, representing the palm leaf industry in Petersham fifty years ago.
Worcester Messenger for the year as issued.
Webster Times for the year as issued.
Young, Horace A. Collection of Foreign Coin.
Young Men's Christian Association. 1 Vol.
Yale Forest School. 4 Pam.
Yale University. 2 Pam.

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355th Meeting.

Tuesday evening, Jan. 1, 1901.

President Crane in the chair.

Others present: Messrs. Arnold, Bancroft, C. C. Baldwin, Dickinson, Davidson, C. B. Eaton, Ely, Gould, B. T. Hill, M. A. Maynard, Geo. Maynard, Nathaniel Paine, Salisbury, Williamson, Mrs. Bancroft, Mrs. Chenoweth, Mrs. E. A. Harrington, Miss Hay, Mrs. Daniel Kent, Mrs. M. A. Maynard, Miss McFarland, Miss May, Mrs. Rollins, Agnes Waite, Mrs. Williamson, Mrs. Wyman, and a visitor, name not given.

Librarian reported additions for the past month 38 bound volumes, 150 pamphlets, 70 papers and 2 miscellaneous articles.

The Treasurer then read his report, which will be found printed in the Proceedings for the month just closed.

The election of the Treasurer and Librarian having been postponed to this time, was held, and resulted in the choice of Benjamin T. Hill, Esq., Treasurer, and Thomas A. Dickinson, Librarian.

The President then read his annual address.

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where the others left off. The present and the future students and inventors will enjoy the benefit of all this marvelous progress that the nineteenth century has brought forth.

Would time permit, I should like to mention some of the most wonderful accomplishments that will adorn the pages of the history of the century just closed. No doubt they are all familiar to you, and the mere reference to them will suffice to bring them before your minds, that you may note the task of the historian to place on record these various and material changes which have made that period so memorable.

No more hopeful sign for the future of this Society is needed than the continued and unflagging interest shown by its members in the work carried on.

In looking back over the records for the past twelve months, I find our traditional activity has not been allowed to wane, while the quality of the work performed will compare favorably with any of the preceding years within the life of the Society. Beginning with the first meeting of the year, in that paper, "An Undistinguished Citizen," valuable suggestions and encouragements are presented to the would-be writer of history. How true and practical the illustration where the writer calls attention in that paper to the many dear souls that have passed on, leaving the results of useful, valuable, and we may say priceless lives, quickly forgotten, swallowed up in the great flood-tide that is ever pressing forward in the *mad rush* that seems to hold everybody in its steel-like grip. I hope this grand example given us by the writer of that paper will find many followers during the months that are to come.

Our twenty-fifth anniversary that was appropriately observed proved a very happy event, and stands as a red-letter day in the life of the Society. The fierce and protracted discussion had on the use of firearms during

Philip's War brought together valuable data relating not only to the use of the gun, but also of important events that were enacted during that war, all of which can not fail to give value to our collection of historical information. "The Recollections of School, Market and Old Lincoln Streets," as well as the "Story of Three Old Houses," and the account of the "Merrifield Fire," are valuable additions to our stock of local history, while the discussion of the "Causes that Led to the War in South Africa" will show our desire to examine into matters of more general significance.

Some little progress has been made the past year in marking places of historic interest within our city. The reconstruction of what in late years has been known as the Trumbull mansion, but formerly the Worcester County Court House, originally built in the year 1751, was a noteworthy event, one that reflects great credit upon Miss Susan Trumbull, the present representative of this family in Worcester.

Through the politeness of Miss Trumbull, this Society was given an opportunity to join in the rededication of the old court room and to place a tablet, appropriately engraved, upon the door to mark the entrance to this historic room. The birthplace of Hon. George Bancroft, historian of America, has also been appropriately marked. A complete account of each of these events may be found in our Society Proceedings. While our publications have special value, would we not add material worth by printing in them genealogical data relating to Worcester families, old deeds and documents that deal more or less with these families and their connections outside of our city, or even Worcester county? Members of the Society may have certain memoranda they would like to have preserved in this way. Such records, unless deposited in fireproof vaults, are in great danger of being destroyed by fire and other causes,

but printed in our Proceedings and scattered about the country, as our custom requires, some copies might always be found.

We have copies of inscriptions taken from tombstones in various cemeteries that might be printed, and thus give to the public material that is very much sought after.

From the very interesting annual report of our Librarian, we learn that although the number of readers in the library may not have increased during the past year, the contributions of books and pamphlets have been of the most flattering nature, both as to quantity and quality. At the present moment our library contains over 16,500 bound volumes, 29,300 pamphlets, and 5,750 articles in our museum. More than 1,400 persons have visited our rooms, many of them coming from the outlying towns in Worcester county.

Delegations from thirteen of our city schools, accompanied by their teachers, have called to avail themselves of the advantages we offer in the consideration of Indian, Colonial or Revolutionary history, while many pupils come here in search of some historical relic to assist them in the pursuit of their studies, thus showing we are making considerable progress as an educational institution.

It is always pleasing to dwell on the bright side of the picture and gather inspiration, comfort and encouragement as we recount the many triumphs attained, and the rapid growth accomplished by this Society. But with all this gratifying prospect, past and present, in full view, the sad thought comes to us that many of those who have striven and helped to accomplish so much have not been allowed to remain and enjoy the result of their labors. Unable to carry the burdens of life further, one by one they drop by the way and are gathered in with that mighty host that has gone before. Nine deaths have been reported by the Committee on Membership Biography and Resolutions. All were valuable members of this Society, many of them oc-

cupying the highest positions attainable within their respective professions and occupations. But how perfect the harmony. How readily the busy world adapts itself to the changes as they come. The most active, the most valuable life may soon be forgotten. Only the notes of the historian are left to tell the story of their true worth and usefulness in the community.

The name of Wheeler appears quite frequently in the history of Worcester, and coupled with that name came much of the mechanical skill, courage, will-power and perseverance that has made our city prominent in the list of manufacturing centres. In behalf of Mr. William Augustus Wheeler, I present this Society with a daguerreotype of his grandfather, which must have been taken more than fifty years ago.*

This daguerreotype is a likeness of Col. Thos. Wheeler, born March 3, 1767, in Hardwick, Mass., was of the sixth generation from George Wheeler of Concord, Mass., 1638. He was the son of Thomas and Sarah (Warner) Wheeler, also of Hardwick. He learned the trade of a blacksmith, and became a very skillful workman in iron. He also established an iron foundry in Hardwick, at what was known as "Old Furnace Village," where his son, William A., began his business career in the year 1812. His boyhood days were passed during that famous period in the history of our country when soldiers were made, and his military training covered many years. He was Captain in 1801, Major in 1811, and Colonel in 1813. His grandfather, Thomas Wheeler, born in Concord, Mass., Aug. 14, 1696, was first town clerk of Acton, 1735-6, and removed from

*This daguerreotype represents one of the marvelous developments previously referred to. Daguerre made his first experiments in 1829, and portraits were first successfully taken in 1839, one writer says by Morse, another by Prof. John W. Draper, in New York city. The latter took first portrait in this country.

there to Worcester between March 22, 1739, and May 18, 1740, and served in the Board of Selectmen six years (1743, 1744, 1745, 1749, 1751 and 1753), deacon of the Old South Church from Jan. 14, 1748, until his death in 1769. He was a farmer and resided on the old road to Leicester, his land adjoining that town line. In 1764 he went to live with his son in Hardwick, where he died.

Colonel Thomas Wheeler married Anna, daughter of Lieut. Job Dexter, June 3, 1790. She died March 20, 1804, and he married Mary, daughter of Timothy Page, Feb. 14, 1805. She died Sept. 18, 1828. About the year 1818 he removed from Hardwick to Ticonderoga, N. Y., where he carried on the manufacture of iron and steel. About 1830 he returned to Worcester, where he died April 26, 1851, aged eighty-four years, and was buried in the family lot in the old cemetery in Hardwick, where his son, William Augustus, caused a monument to be erected to his memory. Of Col. Thomas Wheeler's children eight lived to mature age. Sally, born April 28, 1794, married Daniel Wheeler, who was son of John Wheeler, also of Hardwick, an aid to Capt. Daniel Shays during Shays' Rebellion, and was the mother of William Augustus, born in Hardwick July 8, 1835, who presented this daguerreotype of his grandfather with drawings and a cut of a windmill called the "Hercules wind engine," an invention of his, manufactured by him for a time, but finally he sold the patent to a firm in Buffalo, N. Y.

This William Augustus Wheeler was educated at the public schools, Leicester Academy, and the Normal School at Westfield, but being unable to follow teaching as an occupation, owing to deafness, he engaged work in the iron foundry of his uncle, William Augustus Wheeler, on Thomas street, Worcester, where he was employed several years. This latter William Augustus Wheeler was most prominently identified with the growth and development of Worcester and her early industries. He was born in Hard-

wick March 31, 1798, and learned the trade of a blacksmith with his father, beginning in 1812, and later succeeded to the iron foundry business in his native town, an industry which had been established there many years before by his father. Looking for more favorable business advantages, he removed to Brookfield, and, with the same object in view, came to Worcester in 1823 and established an iron foundry at the corner of Thomas and Union streets, but not receiving the immediate encouragement hoped for he continued (with the help of some Worcester men) to run the iron foundry business at Brookfield, where, it is said, the iron doors of the Court House in Worcester were made.

In the year 1830 he returned to Worcester and re-established himself at the corner of Thomas and Union streets, where, for more than forty years, he conducted a prosperous and successful business. In 1838 he added the manufacture of brass castings, and two years later a machine-shop to his already thriving industry. In addition to furnishing castings for iron-workers, tool-makers, millwrights, plow-makers, and all kinds of heavy iron work, he manufactured factory shafting, fireproof safes and heavy sheet-iron work. He designed the first boring-machine in Worcester in 1838, manufactured box stoves and cooking stoves from his own patterns. In 1842 he invented a furnace for heating buildings with wood or coal. In 1852 his son, Charles A., was taken into partnership, and retained his interest in the business until his death in 1867.

To Mr. William A. Wheeler no small amount of credit is ciation, joining in the year 1838. A man of indomitable due for many of the advantages the citizens of Worcester have enjoyed from time to time. He was one of the original founders of the Worcester Mechanics Association in 1841, and elected its first President in 1842. To his indomitable will, generosity and energy, as much as to any other one man, the erection of Mechanics Hall building was accomplished, he being an active member on the Building

Committee, was a member of the old Fire Society, and one of the Worcester Aqueduct Company in 1845. In 1848 he was induced by influential citizens of Worcester to assume the contract for building the Worcester & Nashua Railroad, an undertaking in those days considered of great magnitude. Although financial perils and discouragements of various kinds came in his way, he overcame them all and carried the work to a successful termination. He was a member of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association, joining in the year 1838. A man of indomitable will and strict integrity. When the Worcester Mechanics Association was financially embarrassed, and their beautiful building in danger of slipping from their possession, his liberality and enthusiastic encouragement went very far towards helping to replenish its depleted treasury, by which means this valuable property, the pride of Worcester citizens, was saved to the association.

Mr. Wheeler was a man of rare good judgment, always interested in matters of public welfare, and with his practical knowledge was a safe adviser in matters affecting the growth and development of the early life of our city, and at his death, which occurred Feb. 16, 1873, Worcester lost a most conscientious, active laborer for her highest prosperity.

In Johnson's Universal Encyclopedia (1877), Vol. II, page 1305, we read, "Anthracite coal first used in the manufacture of iron in the year 1836, by Crane in Wales," and on page 1307, "David Thomas built the first furnace of the Crane Iron Company and started it July 4, 1840." As this marks with emphasis a developing point in a great industry, it may not be out of place to give some further information regarding these men and their discovery. Mr. George Crane, the person above referred to, was born about the year 1785 at Bromsgrove, county of Worcester, England, a place about thirteen miles south southwest from the city of Birmingham. Here the parents of George Crane

and his brother William spent their lives. Neither of the brothers married. William died about 1833 or 1834. George became a hardware merchant in Birmingham, and after achieving a certain amount of success in that business purchased, in 1824, an interest in an iron manufacturing firm then known as Parsons Brothers, doing business at Gwiscedwin, county of Brecknock, South Wales. On entering this firm Mr. Crane removed to South Wales and attended to the financial part of the business until the year 1840, when his health failed, and for a time he was obliged to relinquish that care, and died in 1842.

When Mr. Crane went to South Wales, and from 1824 to 1839 Mr. David Thomas was superintendent of the works there, although located in the anthracite coal region, they were using coke for smelting iron. The story of the discovery I will take from the words of Mr. Thomas given me in two letters written respectively Sept. 5 and 15, 1879, he then being eighty-five years of age, at which time he was residing in Catasauqua, Pa.

Mr. Thomas writes, "Numerous experiments had been tried, hoping to utilize anthracite coal for smelting iron. None as yet had proved successful. After leaving our office about 9 o'clock P. M. I was often invited down to Mr. Crane's house to take a crust of bread and cheese, and spend an hour discussing business matters. One evening while there in September, 1836, he had a coal fire in his grate, and I began to blow it. He said, 'David, you will blow that fire out.' I replied, 'If the air in the bellows was as hot as Nilson of Glasgow describes the air in his hot blast, anthracite coal would burn like wood.' Mr. Crane replied, 'That is the idea.' We at once tried the experiment with good success, and Mr. Crane secured a patent for making iron with hard coal and hot blast. The patent, however, that had already been granted Mr. Nilson of Glasgow for heating the air so complicated matters that Mr. Crane received very little benefit from his patent, while he expended

large sums of money trying to establish his rights through the means of the courts of England. But our success attracted the attention of the scientific world, and the American journals spread the news throughout the United States, and many trials were made to use anthracite coal in the manufacture of iron there, but loss of capital and financial failure followed all experiments.

"The Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, after watching the vain attempts made, decided to send to Wales for Mr. Crane or myself. Mr. Erskine Hazard of Philadelphia, representing the company, visited Wales, and as my wife and I had often thought of emigrating to America, Mr. Hazard's proposition was considered with favor. It was arranged that my expenses to America were to be paid, that after a trial of five years, if I did not wish to remain longer, the expenses for the return of myself and family to England were to be borne by the company. I came to America in the fall of 1839, and at once began the erection of my first furnace at Catasauqua, Pa., that being the place selected by the company. At first I found great difficulty in getting the skilled workmen needed, but on July 4, 1840, we started our first blast, and on that day made our first iron.

"From that time until August, 1879, that furnace has continued in blast. Our work proved so successful that another furnace was started in 1842, the third in 1846, the fourth and fifth in 1849. For forty years we have averaged 40,000 tons annually from these furnaces. Like industries sprang up all over the anthracite region, and the utilization of hard coal in the manufacture of iron prepared the way for the complete development of the mineral wealth of this country."

No complaint having reached me from any person of dissatisfaction or overwork, and believing that one term may not have given the several standing committees a fair opportunity to develop their strength and usefulness, I will,

by authority given in the constitution, appoint the same persons to serve on the several committees for the year ensuing.

At the close of the address a general discussion was given the subject of using notices for the regular meetings, together with the printing and distribution of the Society's Proceedings, which resulted in the whole matter being referred to the Executive Committee to consider the same, and report to the Society at some future meeting. It was voted, however, that no copies of the Proceedings should be delivered to members whose annual assessments are one year over-due.

The Committee on Membership Biography reported the following sketch, which in the absence of the chairman of the committee was read by the President:

ELISHA DEWEY BUFFINGTON.

Elisha D. Buffington died at his residence in Worcester on the 19th day of November, 1900, from the effects of a tumor on the brain, causing partial paralysis, for which an unsuccessful operation had been performed three days before. He had been ill only a short time, and had been confined to the house but about two weeks.

Mr. Buffington was one of Worcester's best known and oldest business men. He was born in Swansea Nov. 4, 1836, and received his early education in that town. In 1854 he went West, making the journey across the plains in a wagon. He stayed in California for a short time, and then came East.

For a time he taught school in Warren, Mass., and in Lansing, Mich., and then returned to Massachusetts and was employed as a druggist in Fall River, where he laid the foundation of his future success in the drug business. About thirty-six years ago he came to Worcester and purchased the business of William H. Goulding. He immediately began to build up a reputation as the manufacturer of homeopathic drugs, and was soon known all over New England.

Mr. Buffington has always been an enthusiastic sportsman and traveler. In 1893 he became a member of the Massachusetts Fish and Game Commission, and has always taken an active interest in the propagation and preservation of game, not only in Worcester county, but in the whole state. He has been for years one of the leading spirits among the anglers at the Rangeley Lakes, and was a member of the Oquosic Angling Club.

Having a taste for travel and the means of gratifying it, Mr. Buffington made a number of trips abroad, and in his late home are many interesting souvenirs. He was a member of the Worcester Art Society, and also a member of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, which he joined January 5, 1892. He was a member of the Worcester and Commonwealth Clubs, and also of the Home Market Club of Boston. He leaves a widow and one brother, Samuel L. Buffington of Swansea.

A friend for many years, and one who was associated with him in several positions of responsibility, thus writes of him: "Mr. Buffington belonged distinctly to that class of men who, without early advantages of education, have, by their own native intelligence and energy, made their way to recognized positions of prominence and influence in the community. He began near the bottom of the ladder, so far as worldly advantages are concerned, but he was not destined to stay there. He was gifted with rare common sense and quick insight, and easily took in the essential

conditions of any situation. Success was no accident with him. He saw the path to it, and followed it with the necessary self-denial and persistence to accomplish his object."

BENJAMIN J. DODGE,
ELLA L. T. BALDWIN,
HENRY F. STEDMAN.

The Librarian called attention to the death of Mrs. Rockwood, who died Dec. 29th, she being the owner of a large collection of Indian implements now in the custody of the Society, and suggested that an effort should be made to purchase the collection, that it may remain in the Society.

On report of the Standing Committee on Nominations, Professor Zelotes W. Coombs and Mr. Alexander Bowler were elected active members of the Society.

356th Meeting.

Tuesday evening, Feb. 5, 1901.

President Crane in the chair.

Others present: Messrs. Arnold, J. H. Bancroft, C. A. Chase, Davidson, B. T. Hill, Daniel Kent, Geo. Maynard, M. A. Maynard, H. G. Otis, W. T. Forbes, Miss Barrett, Mrs. Hopkins, and a visitor.

Librarian reported additions for past month, 29 bound volumes, 152 pamphlets, 141 papers, and 22 miscellaneous articles. He made special mention of the study-chair used by the late Rev. Seth

Sweetser during his nearly forty years' ministry over the Central Church in Worcester, which was presented by Miss Frances W. Sweetser; also a gift of a collection of nineteen City Directories from Messrs. Drew & Allis.

The Executive Committee, through the Secretary, made their report on the matter referred to them at the last regular meeting as follows: 1st. Your committee would recommend that advertisements be omitted in the publications in the future. 2d. That the publications of the Society for every meeting be discontinued. 3d. That some person to assist the Librarian be employed to serve under the direction of the Librarian.

Mrs. Kent, in behalf of the Col. Timothy Bigelow Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, asked permission to hold meetings of the Chapter in the Society's building, which was granted by the Executive Committee; also the privilege of keeping an antique case in the library-room in which to store their books, relics, etc.

The attendance being small, action on the report was deferred until the next meeting. On report of Committee on Nominations, Lucian A. Taylor and Felix J. Charbonneau were elected active members of the Society.

James Bancroft, Esq., was then introduced, and read the following sketch:

HISTORY OF THE CENTRAL EXCHANGE FROM 1804 TO 1896.

By James H. Bancroft.

At a meeting at Barker's Tavern in Worcester of a number of gentlemen Dec. 18, 1803, Isaiah Thomas was chosen Moderator. At this meeting subscriptions were authorized for stock in a bank.

At a meeting of the subscribers at the house of William Barker Jan. 3, 1804, Benjamin Heywood, Moderator, Francis Blake, clerk, it was voted that a committee of three be chosen for the purpose of presenting a petition to the Legislature for an act of incorporation, and Daniel Waldo, Jr., Isaiah Thomas and Francis Blake were chosen that committee.

This petition was presented, and the Worcester Bank was incorporated on the 7th of March, 1804. A warrant for a meeting of the subscribers was issued to meet at Barker's Tavern April 10, 1804. The fifth article of this warrant is as follows: "To provide for the erection or purchase of a suitable building, and to make such other arrangements as may be necessary for carrying into effect the objects of the said corporation." At this meeting the capital stock was fixed at $150,000.

At a meeting held by adjournment from April 10 to April 20, 1804, is was

Voted, 1 —That the lot of land belonging to Capt. Daniel Heywood, opposite to land owned by Nathaniel Paine, Esq., situated on Main street in Worcester, stated to contain 126 rods, a plan of which was presented by the committee, be purchased by the President and directors for the corporation at the price and upon the terms proposed by said Heywood to the committee.

Voted, 2 —That the directors be hereby authorized and directed to build a house of brick that will accommodate a

family, and answer for banking purposes, to be of such form and size as they may judge to be most for the interest of the stockholders; conforming, however, to the outline of the plan exhibited by the committee so far as may consist with convenience, the same to be erected on the land purchased of Capt. Daniel Heywood.

On the 27th day of April, 1804, Daniel Heywood conveyed to the Worcester Bank the following tract of land: "A certain piece of land on the easterly side of the town street in said Worcester, containing 128 rods, bounded, beginning at a stone on the east side of said street; thence east 14 degrees, south 23 rods and 2 links, bounding on land of Elijah Dix until it comes to a stone; thence running north 47 degrees, east 6 rods, to a stone bounding on land of Nathan Patch; thence west 14 degrees, 20 links north, 25 rods and 24 links to a stone bounding by the street, the last mentioned line bounds on land of grantor; thence running south 16 degrees, 20 links west, 5 rods and 12 links to the first mentioned bound." The consideration mentioned is $800, and the deed is recorded in Book 155, Page 22.

A meeting of the corporation was held at Rice's Inn, sign of the golden ball; the date of this meeting is not recorded.

The annual meeting of the corporation was also held at Rice's Inn on Wednesday, Oct. 3, 1804, at 2 o'clock P. M.

The building was erected in accordance with the vote of the stockholders, and was occupied by the bank and by Mr. Waldo, the President, and his family. The next annual meeting was held in the hall of the bank Wednesday, Oct. 2, 1805, at 2 o'clock P. M.

Matters and business apparently progressed favorably for the bank for twenty-three years, when the corporation was much surprised at the reports of the intentions of a near neighbor, and at a meeting of the directors Oct. 6, 1828, the following preamble and votes were passed:

"Whereas, it is understood by the President and direc-

tors of the Worcester Bank that Mr. Cyrus Stockwell is about to erect a dwelling-house and store on the north side of the bank building of this corporation, and so near thereto as greatly to darken the windows on said north side, and obstruct the passage of air thereto, therefore,

"Voted, That this board protest against the erection of said building in the place proposed by Mr. Stockwell, and hereby notify him that in case the said building shall be so erected, they will take such remedy as the law will furnish them in this behalf.

"Voted, That the cashier furnish Mr. Stockwell with a certified copy of the doings of this board in relation to this subject.

"Attest: Samuel Jennison, Cashier."

"The foregoing was communicated to Mr. Stockwell in writing, agreeably to the vote of the directors, Oct. 9, 1828. S. Jennison, Cashier."

This protest did not cause Mr. Stockwell to change his purpose, and he erected a three-story brick building upon the northerly side of the bank building, completely obstructing the light of the northerly windows and seriously injuring the value of the rooms occupied by Mr. Waldo for residence purposes. Mr. Waldo purchased the Elijah Dix estate upon the southerly side of the bank building, and erected a three-story brick dwelling-house thereon, which was occupied by the Waldos until 1852; then Rejoice Newton occupied the house about a year, and in 1853 it was removed to Waldo street, where it now stands; in 1854 it was occupied by William T. Merrifield as a residence; later it was remodeled and is now used as a hotel.

After the removal of Mr. Waldo from the bank building the bank continued to occupy as before, and make such use of the remaining portion of the building as they were able.

Jubal Harrington was appointed postmaster in 1833 to

succeed James Wilson, and July 9, 1833, he removed the post office from its former location in the building upon the present site of the Barnard, Sumner & Putnam store to the Central Exchange, occupying the rooms upon the principal floor, opposite the banking rooms, and upon the northerly side of the building.

REMOVAL OF THE POST OFFICE.

Not every citizen of Worcester of that day was satisfied with this location of the post office, and in the *Massachusetts Spy* of Feb. 19, 1834, we find an advertisement of a meeting to be held at Estabrook's Hotel next Saturday evening to see about removing the post office to a more central location. This advertisement was without signature, and no record of the meeting has been found.

The bank became dissatisfied with their property, and in the records of the directors we find the following: "At a meeting of the directors April 1, 1834, ordered, That the solicitor of this bank be directed to make sale of the real estate belonging to the corporation on the best terms he can."

It would seem that the solicitor made a sale of the real estate to David T. Brigham, a well-known lawyer, at that time resident of Worcester, and who had an office in the building for some years, for we find upon record a deed from the Worcester Bank to Mr. Brigham, dated April 1, 1834, conveying the same estate that was conveyed by Daniel Heywood to the bank March 7, 1804; in another portion of this deed the date of Mr. Heywood's conveyance is stated to be April 27, 1804; the consideration in this deed is $10,000, and it is recorded in Book 300, Page 175.

Upon the same first day of April, 1834, Mr. Heywood mortgaged this estate to the bank for $9,000, payable in installments of $500 each upon the first days of April and October, the first payment to be made upon the first day of

October next. This mortgage is recorded in Book 300, Page 172.

Mr. Brigham leased to the bank the banking rooms occupied by them, for the term of eighteen years, from the first day of October, 1833, six months prior to the date of the deed. The rent reserved was $200 per annum, payable semi-annually. This lease is recorded in Book 300, Page 173. June 1st, 1834, Mr. Brigham again mortgaged this estate to the bank for $1500, payable in six, twelve and eighteen months. This mortgage is recorded in Book 300, Page 552.

The building erected by Mr. Stockwell was called the York House, and covered all the land northerly of the bank building, between that building and what is now Exchange street, and whereon the buildings numbered 301 and 303 Main street now stand, and now owned by the Burnside heirs. About this time the bank building was called the Central Exchange, by which name the estate is known at this day.

That portion of the building not occupied by the bank was devoted to business of various kinds. The mortgages given by Mr. Brigham to the bank were discharged of record by an instrument dated Oct. 17, 1834, recorded in Book 300, Page 271.

Mr. Brigham was in possession only six and one-half months when he conveyed to Philip Ammidown the estate conveyed to him by the bank in a deed dated Oct. 15, 1834, and recorded in Book 303, Page 272. The consideration of this deed is $11,000, and Mr. Brigham covenants that the estate is free from all incumbrances, except a lease to the Worcester Bank. The description bounds the estate upon the south by Daniel Waldo instead of Elijah Dix, on the east by land of the heirs of Nathan Patch, on the north by Isaac Davis, who then was the owner of the estate formerly of Daniel Heywood, and upon which Cyrus Stock-

well erected the building which caused the bank so much annoyance, and drove Mr. Waldo from his hired home.

Mr. Ammidown executed to the Worcester Bank a lease of the premises occupied by them as a banking-room, with the vaults in house upon estate conveyed by the bank to David T. Brigham April 1, 1834, for eighteen years from Oct. 1, 1833, at a rental of $170 per annum, payable semi-annually. This lease purports to be signed the day and year first above written, but as no day and year were first above written we can conjecture a date. Why this lease and the lease from Mr. Brigham should commence prior to the ownership of the estate by either of the lessors, we can not tell. We are also unable to say why the rent reserved in the lease from Philip Ammidown was less by $30 per annum than in the lease from Mr. Brigham. There is an endorsement upon the lease of the payment of rent to Oct. 1, 1836, by F. W. Paine, attorney for Philip Ammidown, and again to April 1, 1837, by J. H. Richardson, attorney for Philip Ammidown. This lease was recorded in the Registry of Deeds March 23, 1841, in Book 358, Page 310.

In the winter of 1842 and 1843 the Central Exchange was occupied as follows:

In the basement, northerly side, Elijah Sibley, eating-house; southerly side, James R. Pierce, eating-house. First floor, northerly side, post office; southerly side, Worcester Bank and Worcester County Institution for Savings. The Institution for Savings was incorporated Feb. 8, 1828. Second floor, law offices of Charles Allen, Jesse W. Goodrich and Lewis A. Maynard; also the *Washingtonian* reading-room. Third floor, *Palladium*, J. B. Ripley, printer; John S. C. Knowlton, editor and proprietor; *Waterfall*, a temperance paper, printed by Samuel D. Church and Edward R. Fiske.

The three-story building before mentioned, erected by Cyrus Stockwell upon land then owned by Isaac Davis, and called the York House, had a frontage of 33 feet upon

Main street and 73 feet on Market street. Oct. 1, 1835, Isaac Davis conveyed to Samuel M. Burnside a lot of land fronting 33 feet upon Main street and 159 feet upon Columbian avenue, extending to the engine-house. This land included the York House. This deed was recorded in Book 310, Page 546.

Cyrus Stockwell also on the same day conveyed the same estate to Mr. Burnside by his deed recorded in Book 310, Page 547. At a later period of time there was erected upon this estate a four-story brick building, 86 feet in length, completely filling the gap between the York House and the engine-house. This building was called the wool store, and the upper portion thereof was occupied by Lucius Beach, a dealer in wool. There were four stores upon the street floor.

In the winter of 1842 and 1843 one of the stores was occupied by Ira Hunter, provision dealer; another was occupied by Tyler C. Kirby for a fish-market, and two stores were vacant. Mr. Beach was occupying the upper stories for his wool business. At this time Loring F. Perry occupied a portion of the basement of the York House as a provision store. Zephaniah Spurr and Farnsworth occupied the principal floor of this building as a restaurant and boarding-house. T. W. and C. P. Bancroft occupied the upper stories of the York House as a furniture manufactory and chair-painting shop. J. T. Turner had a bowling alley in the third story. One authority refers to the bowling alley as being in the fourth story.

The Messrs. Bancroft were also occupying the Butman store, next northerly of the Citizens' Bank in Brinley row, as an auction store. Deacon Benj. Butman, the proprietor of that portion of Brinley row, wishing to occupy that store himself, the Bancrofts secured a lease of that portion of the York House occupied by Spurr and Farnsworth for a term of years, intending to occupy the same April 1, 1843, for the future conduct of their auction business, and dis-

posed of their furniture business to Noyes & Morrill. Messrs. Noyes & Morrill had not taken possession at the time of the fire, and actually commenced business temporarily in the building now occupied by the Putnam & Sprague Co., at the corner of Central and Main streets. William A. Noyes, of the firm of Noyes & Morrill, is now living in St. Louis, Mo.*

All the before-mentioned occupants of the Central Exchange, York House and wool store, so called, were in possession upon the morning of March 6, 1843. At 1 o'clock in the morning of this day a fire commenced in the York House, and spread so rapidly that the boarders at Spurr and Farnsworth's had barely time to escape. The fire spread to the Central Exchange and wool store, and all were completely burned down, together with the engine-house and a livery stable in the rear of Central Exchange occupied by Nahum Parker.

Dame Rumor says the firemen proposed to enter the house of Daniel Waldo for the purpose of its protection,

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*Since reading this paper Mr. William A. Noyes says that Mr. Beach vacated his rooms in the wool-store building some two years before the fire, and that the furniture business of T. W. & C. P. Bancroft was at the time of the fire being carried on in the room formerly occupied by Mr. Beach; that at the time of the taking of the lease before mentioned the Messrs. Bancroft were intending to connect the upper floors of the York House with those of the wool store building for the purpose of enlarging the business. But before the fire T. W. & C. P. Bancroft disposed of their furniture business to Noyes & Morrill, intending to give them possession thereof upon the first day of April, 1843, and the loss which fell upon the furniture business by reason of the fire was sustained by Noyes & Morrill instead of the Messrs. Bancroft.

Mr. Noyes was at that time in the employ of the Messrs. Bancroft.

That the bowling-alley of J. T. Turner was upon the fourth floor of the wool-store building and not in the York House.

That the newspapers of that time from which the writer obtained information respecting the occupants of the buildings at the time of the fire were in an error so far as that information conflicts with this statement of Mr. Noyes.

but Mr. Waldo denied permission, saying the house was his, and if it was burned, what was within it might burn also. The bell upon the Second Parish Church was cracked and totally ruined while ringing the alarm for this fire. Mr. Waldo's house was not burned, neither was it seriously injured. This fire was the largest Worcester had then ever seen.

The School street fire on Aug. 22, 1838, was the largest which had occurred at that time. This fire consumed several buildings at the corner of School and Union streets.

The morning after the fire the mail was distributed from the office of Isaac Davis, and for a few days the office remained in Mr. Davis' rooms. Then the post office was removed to the small wooden building once occupied as a stage office at the southeasterly corner of Main and Mechanic streets, where it remained until the new exchange was completed. This small wooden building was later occupied by Lyman L. Mason as a jeweler's store.

Of the Worcester Bank we find this record dated March 7, 1843:

"At a meeting of the directors of the Worcester Bank at Chambers No. ——, Brinley row, their former place of business having been destroyed by fire in the night of March 5. Present, D. Waldo, Samuel M. Burnside, Stephen Salisbury, George T. Rice, Benj. F. Heywood. Loaned, $7,000."

Samuel Hathaway on the night of the fire, March 6, 1843, assisted in carrying the valuables of the Worcester Bank from there to the Quinsigamond Bank, which was then located where the southerly portion of Flagg buildings now stands.

Henry W. Wilson remembers upon that night seeing Rev. Dr. Sweetser carrying away a box of money from the Worcester Bank. Julius L. Clarke, now living in Newton Upper Falls, at the advanced age of eighty-eight years, writes that he well recollects frequently going to the temporary banking rooms of the Worcester Bank during the

rebuilding of the Central Exchange for the purpose of getting bills changed and of collecting checks, that these rooms were located in the second story of Brinley row, at the left of the stairs and were the rooms numbered 1 and 2, and the same occupied for law offices by J. Henry Hill for many years; that the rooms were small for the purposes of the bank, and crowded, and he wondered how they were able to transact their business; that when the teller wished to consult with the cashier he went to the chair where he was seated, in a distant corner of the room; that at one time he recollects the teller went to the Citizens' Bank for some small bills; that this was a busy place all of the time the bank was in those rooms.

From this information your speaker thinks he can safely say that a few days after the fire the bank valuables were transferred from the Quinsigamond Bank to the Citizens' Bank, which was then upon the ground floor in the southerly end of Brinley row. The newspapers of that time, and the records of the Worcester, Quinsigamond and Citizens' Banks make no mention of this matter.

The *Palladium*, J. B. Ripley printer, removed to Butman row. The editorial rooms of J. S. C. Knowlton were also removed to the same place.

The *Waterfall*, Church & Fiske printers, also removed to the same building, 196 Main street. Mr. Ripley was so badly crippled financially by the fire that he was unable to continue printing the *Palladium*, and Church & Fiske became printers of the paper Apr. 5, 1843.

Of the lawyers Lewis A. Maynard took rooms in Dr. Green's building over the Central Bank. Jesse W. Goodrich removed to a building on Main street, nearly opposite the ruins of the Central Exchange, and Charles Allen established his office in the second story of Butman row, where he remained for many years.

T. W. & C. P. Bancroft, auctioneers, being obliged to vacate the Butman store, which they had occupied as an

auction room, and not being able to remove into the York House on account of the fire, removed to the second store in Butman row, southerly from Maple street, where they remained until Mr. Burnside had completed his new building.

The new Central Exchange was completed in the early winter of 1843; it had a frontage of 90 feet upon Main street, and was some 56 to 58 feet in depth. It was originally built with a central part of about 50 feet in length from north to south, with wings of about 20 feet each. The central part was four stories in height, with a steep pitch roof, with gable end toward Main street, making practically another, or fifth, story, with an attic above that story in the roof. There was a large cupola or observatory surmounting this roof. The wings were three stories high,

with pitch roof, the ridge of which was at right angles with that upon the main building.

Subsequently, about the year 1871, a fourth story was added to each of the northerly and southerly wings of this building.

The entrance to the first floor in the main building was reached by about six steps of Quincy granite, and on either side of those steps other steps of the same material descended to a basement story, which was intended for eating-houses, or the like occupancy. The entrance to the wings was also by steps, but not so many as to the main building. The building was of pressed brick, with stone trimmings of Quincy granite, and was the largest and most imposing structure of the kind then in Worcester, and for many years it maintained this distinction. Adolphus Morse was the contractor and builder. The building now standing upon the southeasterly corner of Main and Exchange streets, upon the site of the York House, was erected by Samuel M. Burnside at the same time the Central Exchange was rebuilt, and its outward appearance then and its appearance at the present time are almost identical. This building has been owned by Mr. Burnside and by his heirs from 1843 to the present time. Tower & Raymond were the contractors and builders of Mr. Burnside's new building.

We shall now consider the occupants of the new Central Exchange. The northerly side of the basement was at first occupied by Zephaniah Spurr and Benjamin Lewis as an eating-house; the southerly side was occupied by James R. Pierce for the same purpose; after a few years the north and south sides of the basement were united in one room, and the following are among the occupants:

1847, Thurston & Forbush; 1848, Thurston & Thompson; 1849 and '50, Daniel E. Thurston; 1851, Thurston & Richards; 1852, Curtis Forbush; 1853 and '54, Thurston & Rice; 1857 and '58, Daniel C. Gates; 1866, H. C. Mas-

croft; 1867, A. W. & A. H. Carter; 1868 to '70, A. H. Carter; 1871, J. Connor; 1872, L. E. Ball; 1873, Kibbe & Crosby; 1874, G. B. Jones; 1875 to 1889 inclusive, Henry H. Perry, with the exception of 1880, when the veteran Zephaniah Spurr occupied for one year. Hans Johnson was in possession from 1890 to 1892, and from 1893 to 1895 Shea & McGuinness were the last in this line of eating-house proprietors.

James J. Johnson occupied a room in the basement as a barber shop in 1856; some other barbers were for a time in the basement, but their names have not been ascertained.

The Worcester Bank and the Worcester County Institution for Savings returned to the Central Exchange in December, 1843; that event is recorded by the bank as follows: "At a meeting of the directors at their rooms in the Central Exchange Tuesday, December 5, 1843. Present, D. Waldo, B. F. Heywood, R. Newton, S. M. Burnside, S. Salisbury, L. Lincoln. Loaned $2,100."

The bank was located as before, upon the southerly side of the first floor, and the Savings Institution in the rear of the discount bank.

We find the following upon the records of the directors, dated February 4, 1851: "Present, Salisbury, Heywood, Lincoln, Washburn, Rice and Newton. President reported that he had been notified by A. Morse, Esq., agent for the trustees, that a new lease of the rooms for five or seven years will be granted at an annual rent of $500."

"February 11, 1851. Present, Salisbury, L. Lincoln, Washburn, Rice, Newton, Heywood. The President laid before the board a communication from Adolphus Morse, Esq., dated February 8, notifying him that in consequence of his refusal to renew the lease of banking rooms on the terms proposed, the same had been leased to the Mechanics' Bank, and requesting the bank to vacate July 1st or October 1st. The President also stated that he was greatly surprised at the construction put upon his reply to Mr.

Morse, but that he has ascertained that, without regard to the rights or interest of this bank, and without notice that such was their intention, the trustees had executed and delivered to the Mechanics' Bank a lease of the rooms. Wherefore the cashier was instructed to notify Mr. Morse, in conformity to a request in his letter, that this bank will expect to occupy the rooms until the 1st of October (as per agreement in the old lease). The President and Mr. Rice were appointed a committee to consider what is the most expedient arrangement that can be made for locating the bank, and were requested to report at as early a day as possible. Discounted as per sheet No. 88."

"February 18. Present, Salisbury, L. Lincoln, J. W. Lincoln, Heywood, Newton, Rice. The committee appointed at the last meeting presented the plan of banking rooms on the second story of a new block proposed to be erected by Jonathan Grout. They also proposed the erection of a building or the purchasing of a building, if it should be erected, on the vacant lot on Foster street, west of the Boston & Worcester Railroad depot. The consideration of the matter was postponed to a special meeting to be held on Saturday, February 22, at 6.30 o'clock. Discounted as per sheet."

"February 22. Present, Salisbury, L. Lincoln, J. W. Lincoln, Newton, Rice. A plan of the arrangements of the lower floor of a building proposed to be erected on Foster street for the accommodation of the bank, savings bank, post office, etc., prepared by C. B. Whiting, the assistant cashier, was presented, and, after discussion as to the propriety of a purchase of real estate for the bank's use, it was voted that in case such a building should be erected this bank will engage the suite of rooms on the lower floor, as per the above plan, for the term of years not shorter than June 1, 1870, at $500 per year, the bank to put in its own vault."

"February 25. Present, Salisbury, L. Lincoln, J. W. Lincoln, Heywood, Newton, Rice. Voted, That the location

on Foster street appears to be the most desirable for the bank, and that Mr. Rice be requested to confer with the directors of the Boston & Albany Railroad Corporation, and to arrange with them for the erection of a building on the said lot, if he can do so, on conditions that the bank shall own jointly with the railroad corporation, and shall furnish not exceeding two-thirds of the expense needed for the whole investment."

"March 4. Present, Salisbury, L. Lincoln, Rice, Newton, Washburn, J. W. Lincoln. The reply of the President and directors of the Boston & Worcester Railroad Corporation to the proposition of George T. Rice, Esq., for the purchase of real estate on Foster street, was presented in a letter bearing date February 28, 1851. Wherefore it was voted that the directors accede to the proposition contained in said communication, viz., to build a block of stores, offices, etc., on the lot of land on Foster street belonging to said corporation, three stories high, at a cost not exceeding $20,000, and to receive a conveyance of two-thirds of said lot and building; the said corporation to have and retain one-third thereof in common with the banking corporation, and said railroad corporation are to lease and the bank is to receive of said Boston & Worcester Railroad Corporation, for the period of ten years from October 1, 1851, at 7 per cent. of the cost thereof, together with the payment of taxes, etc., as expressed in the communication aforesaid; provided, however, that the deed of conveyance contains a proper security that the land now open between the east line to be conveyed and the railroad buildings, together with the passage-way laid out on the plan of the land on the south and west, be kept open for the use of the owners and occupants of said building when erected. Voted, That George T. Rice, Esq., be authorized, in behalf of the bank, to enter into a specific contract with the directors of said railroad corporation on the subject of the foregoing. Voted, That Messrs. Salisbury and Rice be a

committee to procure plans and specifications, and to enter into a contract and engage a superintendent for the construction of said building."

The Worcester Bank block was erected upon Foster street in the summer of 1851. One-fourth only of the first floor at the westerly end was then occupied by the bank and Institution for Savings. Next easterly was the store of A. & W. H. Harris, flour dealers, then a store occupied by W. E. Allen, harness dealer, and lastly a store occupied by G. S. & A. J. Howe, dealers in drugs, paints and oils; the second floor was devoted to lawyers' offices, and the third floor contained halls—the City Guards and the Natural History Society have been domiciled there. The bank and Institution for Savings gradually absorbed one store after another, until at this time they occupy the whole of the first floor.

September 23, 1851, the first meeting of the directors was held at the new banking rooms on Foster street; present, full board.

"May 11, 1852. Voted, That R. Newton be requested to communicate personally with the President of the Boston & Worcester Railroad Corporation, and request the necessary alterations, and if the Boston & Worcester Railroad Corporation shall decline said changes, then to ascertain if the property can be purchased at the price lately proposed by the Boston & Worcester Railroad Corporation for their interest, viz., $11,000, and interest from the first of October last."

"May 18, 1852. Voted, That the bank will purchase and take a deed from the Boston & Worcester Railroad Corporation of their interest in the Worcester Bank block estate, as described in a contract bearing date March 4, 1851, between said railroad corporation and the bank, paying therefor the sum of $11,000, and interest from the first of October last; and a deed of the interest of the railroad corporation in the premises was made, executed and delivered

to the bank May 20, 1852, and recorded in the Registry of Deeds in Book 493, Page 245."

John S. Kimball, brother of Moses Kimball, owner of the Boston Museum on Tremont street, in the year 1850 put in a cellar, inclusive of the wall-stone, where the Worcester Bank block now stands, with the intention of renting stores upon the first floor, and using the upper stories in a similar manner as the Boston Museum, but he came to the conclusion that such a building in Worcester would not pay expenses, and abandoned the place after putting in the cellar, and forfeited the whole of his investment therein to the railroad company.

Prior to this time for many years, Simeon B. Thompson occupied a one-story wooden building upon these premises for the sale of newspapers and periodicals.

The Mechanics' Bank and the Mechanics' Savings Bank removed from Hobbs' block, upon the westerly side of Main street, October 1, 1851, and occupied the rooms vacated by the Worcester Bank and the Institution for Savings. Upon the removal of the post office to Pearl street, the Savings Bank took possession of the northerly side of the first floor, and each of these banks has continued its tenancy in this building to the present time.

The post office in Worcester was established November 15, 1775, and Isaiah Thomas was the first postmaster. James Wilson was postmaster from 1801 to 1833; he kept the office in a building where the Barnard, Sumner & Putnam building now stands. In 1833 Jubal Harrington was appointed postmaster, and July 9, 1833, he removed the post office to the Central Exchange, as before stated.

Maturin L. Fisher was postmaster at the time of the fire, and when the new building was completed returned to his old location upon the northerly side of the principal floor, opposite the Worcester Bank, and here the post office remained until the close of Mr. Fisher's term and during the administrations of Edward W. Lincoln, Emory Banister,

John Milton Earle, and a part of the term of Josiah Pickett. During Mr. Earle's term he found the business of his office increasing, and requested of Harrison Bliss, agent of the Central Exchange estate, more room, but Mr. Bliss did not think he could furnish him with the desired space.

During the latter part of the administration of Mr. Earle the Worcester Mutual Fire Insurance Company, which had their office in the Court House, leased for a term of years the second story of the Worcester Bank block on Foster street, which was then occupied by several lawyers. This lease has disappeared and cannot now be found, either in the archives of the insurance company or of the bank, and the date thereof is unknown.

Of the lawyers thus disturbed, George F. Hoar, William W. Rice, Henry Chapin and Appleton Dadmun, together with Calvin Foster, purchased an estate upon the southerly side of Pearl street, and in 1866 erected a building thereon for their accommodation and for the post office. Prior to the erection of the post-office block on Pearl street, it was announced in the papers that the government had leased rooms in that block for the term of ten years. This was a surprise to the public and every one, except the owners of the block and Mr. Earle. Upon this fact becoming known, Mr. Bliss made efforts to retain the office in its then location, but was unsuccessful, and Mr. Pickett removed the office from the Central Exchange on Saturday, January 26, 1867, and the newspapers say that it was opened for business upon Pearl street on Monday, January 28, 1867.

In the rear portion of the first floor, between the bank and the post office, was an office occupied by George L. Allen, under the firm name of Allen & Co., brokers, in 1851 and '52. Jonathan Carey and John Field each had an office in the same room with Allen & Co., and there carried on the general insurance business in 1851. In 1852, '53 and

'54, Carey and Field were partners in the insurance business in this office, and Mr. Field was there alone in 1855.

ANNEX.

In 1855 a wooden annex, one story high, with skylights overhead and standing upon posts of wood some eight or ten feet in length, was erected in the rear of the Central Exchange and adjoining thereto. There were two light-shafts between this annex and the main building. This annex had offices or rooms upon the northerly and southerly sides, and a passage-way from west to east across the centre thereof.

Keith & Heath, clothing dealers, were the first occupants of the northerly side of this annex; later William H. Hudson, clothing dealer, occupied this northerly side for a time.

E. F. Rogers, agent for J. M. Huntington, occupied a portion of the northerly side for a coal office from 1858 to 1862.

E. E. & F. E. Abbott, real estate dealers, had an office in the southerly side in 1859. Southworth A. Howland, insurance agent, had an office in the southerly side from 1861 to 1865 Lewis Thayer, real estate agent, was in the southerly side of this annex from 1861 to 1865.

Newton Sibley and Newton, deputy sheriffs, were here from 1866 to 1870.

William Brown, upholsterer, was in this annex from 1872 to 1884.

Brown & Derby, in the same business, were here in 1885 and 1886.

In 1872 William Willard, portrait painter, had his studio here.

Thomas D. Gard, manufacturing jeweler, was here in 1875 and 1876.

SECOND FLOOR.

There were eight office rooms upon the second floor. By far the larger portion of the tenants upon this floor for more than thirty years were lawyers, and during this time this floor was the most desirable office room in Worcester, and this location was taken as the centre of the town and city, and distances calculated from this place upon the maps of Worcester. The removal of the post office changed this order of reckoning, and since then Harrington corner has been the recognized centre upon the maps. The annual rent of these offices in 1848 ranged from $60 to $120 per annum.

John A. Dana, attorney-at-law, commenced to occupy room No. 6 in 1848; James H. Bancroft had desk-room with him from December 1, 1848, to November 1, 1849. Mr. Dana continued to occupy room No. 6 until the death of Elisha Fuller in 1855, when he removed to No. 8, where he remained until January, 1857; then he removed to No. 5, and occupied these until January, 1863.

Arthur E. Estabrook occupied a portion of No. 5 with Mr. Dana in 1857 as a business office, and was there a few years.

Otis L. Bridges, attorney-at-law, occupied room No. 7 from 1846 to 1849.

W. A. Williams, attorney-at-law, began to occupy room No. 7 in 1848, remained there until John H. Matthews vacated No. 2, about January, 1855, when he took that room, and continued there until 1870. James H. Bancroft occupied office room in No. 7 from 1849 to 1855, and in No. 2 from 1862 to 1870 inclusive.

During the time from the erection of the second Central Exchange until the year 1877, actions wherein the damages claimed did not exceed one hundred dollars might be made returnable before a justice of the peace, and in 1852 a statute was enacted providing for a trial with six jurors

before such justices. This statute was in force until A. D. 1876. In the year 1855, a Worcester lawyer brought an action returnable before W. A. Williams, Esq., at his office, No. 2 Central Exchange, to recover for the professional services of a physician who was not the possessor of a diploma. The defendant appeared by counsel and demanded a trial by jury. A venire was issued to the mayor and aldermen, and on Monday, April 22, 1855, George Jaques, Horatio Phelps, Nathan Washburn, Jonathan C. French, Josiah W. Allen and James H. Wall were drawn as jurors, to attend the trial of this cause upon the first day of May next then ensuing. Nathan Washburn was foreman. The case was heard at the appointed time. The jury retired in charge of Officer Jonathan Day. They were in session some four hours, and having several times notified the court of their inability to agree, three being for the plaintiff and three for the defendant, were discharged.

A second venire was issued, and on Wednesday, August 22, 1855, Charles H. Ballard, Richard Ball, Jonathan C. French, Henry B. Dickinson, Elisha N. Childs and Thomas Pierce were drawn as jurors, and the trial was had on Thursday, August 30, 1855, commencing at 8 o'clock in the forenoon. Jonathan C. French was foreman. At the close of the trial the jury retired, were in session more than half of the day, and being of the same opinion as the former jury, three for the plaintiff and three for the defendant, were discharged by the court. Further jury trials in this action before this court were waived. An appeal was taken to the Court of Common Pleas, where the jury found for the plaintiff. Mr. French had the honor of serving on both of these juries.

Jesse W. Goodrich, attorney-at-law, was the first occupant of room No. 5, and remained there until his death, June 14, 1857.

Danforth Brown, a real estate agent, occupied an office in No. 5 with Mr. Goodrich from 1846 to 1854.

Mr. Goodrich was admitted to the bar in 1833; he studied with David T. Brigham, and was a partner with him for three years, until 1836; he occupied an office in the first Central Exchange while he was with Mr. Brigham, and afterwards continued in that building, until it was burned; then he removed to an office upon the opposite side of Main street from the ruins, and remained there until he removed to Brinley row, No. 182 Main street, where he remained nearly another year, and in 1845 he removed to the new Central Exchange, and occupied room No. 5 on the lawyers' floor, until his decease, June 14, 1857. He was editor of the *Massachusetts Cataract*, and other temperance papers. He was disappointed in love in his early days, and never married; occasionally he advertised for a matrimonial partner. After his decease numerous papers and documents were found, which proved that he had corresponded with 127 different ladies upon that subject. His will is a curious document, and was presented for probate by Hon. Ira M. Barton. A contest was made by those interested in his estate, witnesses were called, who testified that he was not a sane man, and the Hon. Thomas Kinnicutt, then judge of probate, refused its allowance.

James E. Estabrook, attorney-at-law, occupied an office in No. 5 with Mr. Dana from 1859 to 1863, when Mr. Dana vacated, and after that Mr. Estabrook continued there until 1871.

Matthew J. McCafferty commenced to occupy No. 5 in 1864, and continued in that room until he was appointed by Governor Butler an associate justice of the Municipal Court in Boston in 1883. James F. Purcell was associated with Mr. McCafferty in the practice of law in 1877 and '78.

The directory of 1847 says Henry D. Stone was a student; he studied with Barton & Bacon; in 1848 he occupied room No. 4, near Barton & Bacon's, when Mr. Maxwell

vacated room No. 3 in 1850. Mr. Stone also occupied room No. 3, and expended the larger portion of $1,000 in furnishing and decorating it. He had the reputation of owning but few law books. He made himself famous to your orator by saying, "Some people go around the road to make their money, and some go across lots; I am one of those who go across lots." Later, when your orator inquired of him whether he intended to purchase certain machinery, he replied, "*You* can not afford to trade with me. I must trade with those who can afford to do so." Mr. Stone made his purchase of Fitzroy Willard and others to the amount of $13,000, of which sum never one dollar was paid, and your orator was well convinced he could not afford to trade with Mr. Stone.

Mr. Stone occupied rooms 3 and 4 until 1858. Upon April 20, 1858, he was arrested in an action of tort, commenced by William M. Bickford and other assignees of the estate of Mr. Stone, and committed to the jail upon Summer street in Worcester; while in the jail he was arrested on mesne process on the 7th day of June, 1857, upon nine different writs, issued from the Superior Court, in favor of the following-named plaintiffs:

Bartholomew Schlessinger et al., Timothy W. Wellington, Joseph Pratt et al., Thomas Earle, William Boyd, Fitzroy Willard et al., William Dickinson, Dana H. Fitch, and the Central Bank.

According to the best information of your speaker, neither of these plaintiffs ever received anything upon their several claims. Upon August 28, 1858, he was again arrested upon two warrants issued from the Court of Insolvency for contempt. Mr. Stone was discharged from arrest in the suit commenced by William M. Bickford and others, by order of the plaintiffs' attorney, May 28, 1859, but he was further detained in jail upon the other suits, where he remained until the decision of the cases of Grafton Bank vs. Bickford and others, and of Stone vs. Carter, by

the Supreme Judicial Court (reported in the 13th volume of Allen's Massachusetts Reports). He was discharged from jail by order of the Supreme Judicial Court February 10, 1860. The directory of 1859 contains his name as counsellor-at-law, boards Summer, corner of East Central street. While in jail he for a short time caused his business card as attorney-at-law to be inserted in the Worcester papers, which card was substantially as follows:

"HENRY D. STONE,
Counsellor-at-Law.
Office at Carter's Hotel,
Summer street, Worcester,
I do not attend court."

After his release he went to New Orleans, and was for a time engaged in the famous Myra W. Gaines case.

George F. Verry, attorney-at-law, was a student with Mr. Stone in 1850; was admitted to the bar in 1851, and occupied an office in room No. 4 until 1870.

Horace B. Verry, attorney-at-law, had an office in room No. 4 from 1866 to 1870.

Francis A. Gaskill, attorney-at-law, was associated with George F. Verry, and had an office with him in No. 4 in 1870.

William B. Maxwell, attorney-at-law, occupied room No. 3 from 1845 to 1850, and later he occupied the same room from 1880 to 1883.

Grenville Parker, attorney-at-law, occupied room No. 2 from 1844 to 1850.

John H. Mathews was student with G. Parker in 1848; admitted to the bar in 1848, and that year he commenced to occupy room No. 2, and remained there until he removed to Flagg building, about January, 1855. He was district attorney during Governor Gardner's administration.

Edward Clark, attorney-at-law, occupied room No. 3 in 1848 and 1849.

Ira M. Barton, attorney-at-law, began to occupy room No. 1 in 1844, and continued there until 1850.

Peter C. Bacon, attorney-at-law, began to occupy room No. 1 in 1845, and continued there until 1870.

William S. Barton, attorney-at-law, began to occupy in room No. 1 in 1848, and remained there a few months later than his father, the Hon. Ira M. Barton, in 1850, when he took an office in Flagg building, and afterwards removed to Harrington corner, and from there he went to Boston, where he was employed in the Bank of Commerce for seventeen years, until he was elected city treasurer of Worcester.

Dwight Foster, attorney-at-law, commenced to occupy in room No 1 in 1850, after William S. Barton vacated, and remained there until 1853.

P. Emory Aldrich, attorney-at-law, commenced to occupy in room No. 1 about December 1, 1855.

Bacon & Aldrich took possession of room No. 8 in 1857, and thereafter continued to occupy No. 1 and No. 8 until 1870.

Francis Deane and Frederick B. Deane, attorneys-at-law, occupied room No. 3 from 1869 to 1871.

F. M. Sprague, attorney-at-law, occupied room No. 4 from 1870 to 1874.

Gile & Merrill, attorneys-at-law, occupied room No. 2 from 1871 to 1879; upon the dissolution of that firm in 1879, William A. Gile remained in that office until 1881.

Joseph Mason, attorney-at-law, had an office in room No. 2 in 1879.

Francis L. King, attorney-at-law, had an office in room No. 8 in 1879. Mr. King was also in room No. 4 with George F. Verry during the years 1859 to 1863.

J. B. Carroll, attorney-at-law, had an office in room No. 5 during 1880 and 1881.

Charles Pacand, attorney-at-law, had an office in room No. 1 in 1871.

Abbott & Rice and H. M. Rice & Co., real estate agents, occupied room No. 1 from 1871 to 1874.

Kent & Dewey, attorneys-at-law, occupied room No. 1 from 1884 to 1895.

John C. Dewey, attorney-at-law, occupied room No. 8 from 1884 to 1895.

Jonathan Day, a deputy sheriff, occupied room No. 3 from 1861 to 1868.

Jonathan B. Sibley, a deputy sheriff, occupied room No. 3 from 1860 to 1868.

Daniel F. Newton, a deputy sheriff, occupied room No. 3 from about 1865 to 1868.

Frank A. Newton, a deputy sheriff, occupied room No. 3 from about 1867 to 1868. Mr. Newton was appointed a deputy upon the day he attained his majority, and retained that office until the death of the sheriff.

Fred E. Abbott and George H. Estabrook, under the firm name of Abbott & Estabrook, pension claim agents, occupied room No. 7 from 1864 to 1874.

Ferdinand Gagnon, editor of *Le Travailleur* and other newspapers, occupied different rooms upon this floor from 1873 to 1883.

Elisha D. Stocking, real estate agent, was in room No. 4 during 1873 and 1874.

Daniel F. Newton and Frank A. Newton, under the firm name of D. F. Newton & Son, real estate agents, occupied room No. 3 from 1872 to 1880.

C. Lalime, life insurance agent, occupied room No. 8 from 1873 to 1878.

F. L. Malmstedt had an intelligence office upon this floor in 1888 and 1889.

Malmberg & Bernstrom, Bernstrom & Olson and B. J. Bernstrom had rooms upon this floor from 1890 to 1894.

In 1862 Sewell Rice manufactured hoop skirts and corsets in room No. 6, formerly occupied by John A. Dana. The next year Sewell F. Young was associated with him, and they removed their shop to the rooms upon the northerly side of the third floor, once occupied by the Light

Infantry for an armory, and here they remained for three years. Mr. Young retired in 1865, and Mr. Rice continued the business for about three years longer. Mr. Rice then disposed of the business to Leonard L. Pierce, and he remained there a while longer.

J. B. N. Gould advertises fashionable tailoring rooms at rooms Nos. 6 and 7, Central Exchange, in the *Cataract* and *Waterfall* newspapers from January 17, 1844, to October 9, 1844. The Worcester directory for 1845 locates J. B. N. Gould, tailor, at No. 7 Central Exchange. The directory for 1846 says J. B. N. Gould and W. E. Braman, under the firm name of Gould & Braman, tailors, Central Exchange, giving no number of room. The directory for 1847 locates Mr. Gould at 208 Main street, and also says W. E. Braman and George H. Hudson, under the firm name of Braman & Hudson, tailors, Central Exchange, giving no number of the room. The presumption is that rooms 6 and 7 were occupied by these men during the time indicated, and prior to their occupancy by Messrs. Otis L. Bridges and John A. Dana, attorneys-at-law. There were also other tenants upon this floor for longer and shorter times, and for various kinds of business since 1870, the names of whom have not been ascertained.

There were photograph artists in the Central Exchange from 1876 to 1896, as follows:

George Adams from 1876 to 1877.
Adams & Knight, 1878.
E. B. Slater, 1879.
S. B. Winchester, 1880 to 1883.
William H. Fitton, 1887.
F. H. Rice, 1888 to 1896.

THIRD FLOOR.

Samuel D. Church and Edward R. Fiske, when the new Central Exchange was completed in December, 1843, re-

moved to the third floor of that building, and were there in 1844 and 1845. When Mr. Fiske retired H. H. Prentiss was admitted to the firm, and they printed the *Palladium* in 1846. In 1847 Mr. Church was alone in this business. Benjamin J. Dodge succeeded Mr. Church, and printed the paper in 1848 and 1849. Albert Tyler and Charles Hamilton succeeded Mr. Dodge, and were printers in 1850 and 1851. In 1852 Charles Hamilton acquired the whole printing office, and greatly enlarged it, from time to time, and doing an extensive job business from 1852 to 1896. Mr. Hamilton died October 25, 1896, and his estate has continued the business to the present time. Benjamin J. Dodge has worked in this office as a journeyman, foreman, and proprietor for fifty-three years.

Peter L. Cox had a printing office upon this floor about the years 1847 and 1848.

John S. C. Knowlton was editor and publisher of the *Worcester Palladium*. The first issue was January 1, 1834, and his office was then upon the third floor of the first Exchange. Mr. Knowlton, December 6, 1843, removed to office room No. 9, upon the third floor of the new building, and continued there as sole editor and proprietor until his death, June 11, 1871. The paper was then edited by Julius E. Tucker until his decease, October 6, 1873. Helen M. Knowlton & Co. then became editors and proprietors, and continued its publication until May 8, 1875. Charles Hamilton then became proprietor, and continued the publication until Feb. 14, 1876, when the paper was sold to the publishers of the *Massachusetts Spy*.

William M. Derby, architect, occupied room No. 14, Central Exchange, upon the third floor. The time when he commenced has not been ascertained. He vacated the room in 1848, and built the first Flagg building, which was burned on Sunday, January 29, 1854. Mr. Derby's name does not appear in the directory.

Elbridge Boyden and Lewis E. Joy, architects, occupied

a room upon the fourth floor in 1848. They remained there a few months, until Mr. Derby vacated No. 14 in the third story, when they took possession of that room. Messrs. Boyden and Joy were in business as co-partners about one year, when Mr. Joy retired, and Mr. Boyden continued the business alone. Mr. Boyden remained in room No. 14 until 1870.

Phinehas Ball, civil engineer, commenced to occupy room and office with Mr. Boyden in 1848, and continued such occupation until 1866. A portion of this time he was in partnership with Mr. Boyden.

Albert C. Buttrick, civil engineer, occupied office room with Mr. Boyden in room No. 14 from 1850 or '51 to 1870.

George E. Boyden, civil engineer, son of Elbridge Boyden, had office with his father from 1866 to 1870.

The Worcester Light Infantry occupied the northerly side of the third floor as an armory from 1844 to 1851 or '52.

J. Nelson Jacobs, manufacturer of the portfolio paper file, occupied room No. 15 upon the fourth floor as an office and manufactory from 1861 to 1864 inclusive; then he sold his business to H. H. Dayton, who continued it about six months in the same location, and afterwards disposed of the business to parties in New York.

Henry M. Paine was a noted mechanic and inventor, who lived in Worcester in the forties and fifties. The directories of 1849 and 1850 say he was a naval constructor at No. 2 Central Exchange; that room was upon the lawyers' floor, and was at that time occupied by Grenville Parker, Esq. Mr. Paine had a workshop in room No. 17, upon the easterly side of the fourth floor, over the printing office, where he worked some two years or more.

While here he invented a theory of turning water into gas for illuminating purposes, and upon one evening exhibited from the cupola of this building this light, which to the onlookers appeared much like the tail of the comet

which was seen in the early part of the year 1843. Whatever were the merits of this light, it was never put to any practical use.

The fifth story was never occupied, unless it may have been used for storage.

NEWSPAPERS.

Christian Citizen.—Elihu Burritt, the learned blacksmith, occupied room 18, upon the fourth floor, as his editorial room, and there commenced the publication of the *Christian Citizen.* The first number was issued January 6, 1844. Church & Fiske were the first printers, then Church & Prentiss, and later Henry J. Howland at 171 Main street. Mr. Burritt remained in that room until about January, 1846, when he removed with his paper to Butman row, 190 Main street.

The *Worcester Waterfall and Washington Despatch* was commenced February 26, 1842, in the first Central Exchange. Jesse W. Goodrich was editor, and Lewis Metcalf printer and publisher. A while later, Church & Fiske purchased the printing office of Mr. Metcalf, and the *Waterfall* passed into their hands.

Differences of opinion having arisen between Mr. Goodrich and Church & Prentiss, Warren Lazell was editor for a time, and Mr. Goodrich's relations with that paper ceased.

March 22, 1843, Mr. Goodrich commenced the publication of the *Worcester County Cataract and Massachusetts Washingtonian,* which was printed by Royal B. Hancock upon the Burnside estate at 171 Main street.

Dec. 27, 1843, these two papers were united. The *Cataract* was continued under various names, and with the editorial supervision of Mr. Goodrich, he having also an ownership in the paper until March 10, 1853, when the paper was sold to Higgins & Crandall and published elsewhere.

Danforth Brown was a portion of the time associated with Mr. Goodrich in the ownership of this paper.

The *State Sentinel* was started January 1, 1844, by Grenville Parker and William B. Maxwell. At first this paper was printed by Royal B. Hancock, and later it was printed in the Central Exchange by Church & Fiske or Church & Prentiss. In about two years the paper was sold to parties in Lowell. It was a Democratic paper, and in opposition to the *Palladium.*

Peter L. Cox printed and published the *Daily Evening Budget* upon the third floor for about four months in the year 1847. It was commenced Jan. 1 and discontinued in the month of May.

Le Travailleur and other French papers edited by Ferdinand Gagnon, were published in this building from 1873 to 1883.

L'Opinion Publique, published by Belisle Brothers, was published in the Central Exchange from 1893 to 1896.

The *Skandinavia*, a Swedish paper, owned by the Swedish Publishing Co., was here from 1888 to 1896.

NORTH AND SOUTH WINGS.

In 1845 Benj. P. Taber and Timothy W. Hammond were proprietors of a crockery store located at No. 5 Merchants' row.

Merchants' row was a low, one-story brick building in the front yard of the Worcester House, the former residence of Governor Lincoln. This building was at the time better known as the Tombs, and the Worcester House is now known as the Lincoln House upon Elm street. The Tombs were removed in 1854 to give place to the present Lincoln House block. During that year they removed to the store in the northerly wing of the Central Exchange, then numbered 159 Main street. In 1846 Mr. Taber retired from the firm and was succeeded by Mr. Mansfield. In 1849 Mr. Mansfield disposed of his interest to Mr. Hammond, and in 1848 Mr. Hammond sold the business to Edwin Eaton and Henry Phelps, and commenced his long

term of service as treasurer of the Worcester & Nashua Railroad Co. In 1850 Mr. Eaton was succeeded by Justin Forbush, and the firm was Phelps & Forbush. The next year Mr. Forbush was succeeded by Joseph P. Hale, and the firm was Phelps & Hale until 1854, when Joseph P. Hale became the sole owner. In 1860 Mr. Hale sold to Albert S. Brown, who remained there until 1874, when he removed the business to Flagg buildings upon the other side of Main street. During all this long term of nineteen years the directories have persistently located these firms at No. 181 Main street, although the real number plainly painted thereon was 159. William H. Hackett, a well-known grocer, removed to this store in 1874, and occupied it until his death on July 3, 1887. His estate continued the business until 1890, when it was sold to Eben W. Hoxie. In 1892 Mr. Hoxie sold to John A. Hartigan, and he has continued there until the present time.

In 1843 Jonathan H. Knight, hatter, was in business at No. 201 Main street. The next year he removed to No. 6 Merchants' row. In 1845 Mr. Knight removed to the store in the southerly wing of the Central Exchange, where he continued until his death Mar. 27, 1862. His clerks, John Kendall and William H. McClennen, then took the business, under the firm name of Kendall & McClennen, and continued until 1875, when Mr. McClennen retired, and John Kendall was sole owner until after the remodeling of the building was completed in 1896. Mr. Kendall says the remodeling of the building so interfered with his customers that they did not return to him after the building was completed, and he closed out the business, Sept. 2, 1897, which had been a source of profit for many years. Mr. Kendall was in this store as clerk and proprietor forty-eight years.

Samuel S. Leonard, once a conductor upon the Boston & Worcester Railroad, was the owner of the express business from Worcester to Boston, and in 1844 and 1845 had

his office in the Tombs in the same store with Mr. Knight, and in 1845 he removed with Mr. Knight to the Central Exchange and continued the business there in the same store until 1855; then his sons, Samuel H. Leonard and Frederick S. Leonard, succeeded him and continued in that store until 1860, when they removed to a store in the Lincoln House block. Mr. Leonard became blind about the time he disposed of his business to his sons, and many persons will remember assisting him in crossing the street.

It is very probable that the names of many tenants have been omitted in this paper.

In 1869 the Chapin block upon Pearl street was erected, and upon its completion many of the attorneys in the Central Exchange removed thither.

Of the tenants of the building succeeding the York House for the first twelve years to 1855 we will say T. W. & C. P. Bancroft, auctioneers, occupied the first or street floor until the year 1848, when they were succeeded by W. W. Pratt, Sidney Downes and Wm. A. Scott, under the firm name of Pratt, Downes & Scott. Mr. Downes remained in the firm about one year, when he retired, and the remaining co-partners continued for a while, and then the business was closed. The name of the firm is not mentioned in the directory of 1850, and the auction business in that location was abandoned.

William A. Noyes and Joseph Morrill, Jr., commenced to occupy the upper stories as a furniture manufactory and warehouse as soon as the building was completed. In 1846 Mr. Morrill retired and Claudius B. Long entered the firm and remained about one year. In 1847 Mr. Noyes conducted the business alone, then John S. Kimball was associated with him for some two years, under the name of Noyes & Kimball. Then Lemuel A. Holmes purchased the business.

In the spring of 1850 A. B. R. Sprague formed a co-

partnership with Mr. Holmes in the furniture business, and the new firm occupied the whole building.

Mr. T. W. Bancroft, the old auctioneer, had an office upon the front of the second floor for two or three years.

Early in the year 1852 Mr. Holmes retired and Joseph B. Laurence entered the firm, and the firm name was Laurence & Sprague. They continued the business until 1855.

William E. Arnold and James F. Thompson kept an eating-house in the cellar of this building in 1849, with an entrance by steps from Main street. In 1850 Mr. Arnold retired, and Mr. Thompson continued there alone until some time in the year 1852.

FIRES.

On Tuesday evening, Feb. 20, 1855, between 8 and 9 o'clock, a fire commenced in the rubbish which collected upon the ground under the new annex, and in the rear of the crockery store then kept by Joseph P. Hale. The fire for a short time was quite fierce, and shot up the light-shaft and for a few moments as much as 40 feet above the top of the main building, so stated an eye witness. The fire department was quickly on hand and the blaze was extinguished with little material damage.

The *Palladium* of Feb. 28, 1855, in speaking of the fire, says that "had it occurred later in the night, with the wind blowing fresh as it was at the time, we might have had a conflagration as extensive as the one of last summer," referring to the Merrifield fire.

In the year 1857, about two years after, W. A. Williams commenced to occupy office No. 2 upon the lawyers' floor. Between the hours of 12 and 1 o'clock at night a fire was there started, which burned a hole through the floor near the stove from two to three feet in diameter. Fortunately, at this point it was discovered by a policeman, who took immediate measures to extinguish the fire.

Thursday, Nov. 22, 1883, a small fire occurred in John Kendall's hat-shop, caused by a lamp being overturned. The loss was not great.

Friday, Nov. 23, 1883, a fire under the southerly portion of the annex was started, and before it was discovered had gained considerable headway. The alarm was given about 4 o'clock A. M., and the firemen responded promptly. Families were living in the upper stories, and the dense smoke which filled the building made it necessary to bring seventeen persons down upon ladders put up by the firemen.

John Kendall's hat and cap factory was located in a wooden building near the annex, which, with its contents, was greatly injured. Mr. Kendall's loss was much larger than that of any other tenant, and was from $8,000 to $10,000. Edwin L. Vaughn, the present chief of the Fire Department, was present at this fire, and he is of the opinion that this fire was started from the remains of the fire of Thursday evening, which was not fully extinguished at the time, as was supposed. This fire worked its way into the basement of the main building and burned through the floor of the directors' room of the Mechanics' National Bank. Considerable damage was caused by this fire to the buildings. All injuries were repaired and business went on as before.

Thursday, Nov. 9, 1893, at 3.45 P. M., an oil lamp in the office of the *L'Opinion Publique* set fire to the ceiling, and for a few minutes there was a lively fire, which was extinguished by Chemical No. 1.

THE LAND TITLES.

Philip Ammidown died Dec. 24, 1837. His will was allowed in Suffolk County Probate Court Jan. 8, 1838. Joseph W. Parker and John Liscom were later appointed trustees under his will. March 16, 1841, these trustees conveyed to Cyrus Stockwell a portion of the estate origi-

nally purchased by the Worcester Bank, which is described as follows:

"Beginning at a point at the southwest corner thereof, which point is distant 203 feet, 8 inches southeasterly from Main street; thence running northeasterly, and bounded northwesterly by other land of said Philip Ammidown, and now held by the trustees, 87 feet and 10 inches to another point distant 201 feet and 4 inches southeasterly from said Main street; thence turning and running southeasterly, and bounded northeasterly by land now or formerly of said Stockwell 227 feet; thence turning and running southwesterly, and bounded southeasterly by land now or formerly of Bigelow and Waldo 99 feet; thence turning and running northwesterly, and bounded southwesterly, by land now or formerly of Daniel Waldo 177 feet and 2 inches to the point of beginning." The consideration for this deed is $1,500, and it is recorded in Book 357, Page 306. The easterly end of this land extends nearly or quite to the westerly line of the present Commercial street, and is all of the estate lying easterly of what is now Central court.

A plan of the estate conveyed by the Worcester Bank to David T. Brigham is recorded in Book 357, Page 310, immediately following the record of the deed to Mr. Stockwell.

At the time of the fire, Mar. 6, 1843, these trustees were in possession and attended to the rebuilding of the Central Exchange.

Nov. 6, 1843, these trustees conveyed to Daniel Waldo a small triangular piece of land, southerly of the wall of the new building, for $147. This deed is recorded in Book 383, Page 138.

June 6, 1843, Samuel M. Burnside conveyed to Joseph W. Parker and John Liscom, trustees of the estate of Philip Ammidown, a strip of land which lies south of a line drawn as follows, to wit:

Beginning on the east side of Main street in said Worcester, and extending through the centre of a brick wall now being built between the Worcester Bank lot, so called, now owned by the grantees in their said capacity, as trustees, and the York House, so called, owned by grantor, and extending eastward through the centre of said wall 60 feet from the southwest corner of the foundation of the York House, as it was before its recent destruction by fire, the east end of said line being one foot from the wall of said York House as it now stands; said strip of land contains 90 feet by estimation. The consideration for this deed is $147, and the deed is recorded in Book 379, Page 214. Why this land should be sold at this time, when Mr. Burnside's lot originally was but 33 feet wide upon Main street, is a subject for inquiry. The price for this land was upwards of $1.63 per square foot.

Oct. 31, 1843, nearly eight months after the fire, Samuel M. Burnside conveyed the land upon the southerly side of Market street, having a frontage of 86 feet, whereon the wool store, so called, stood, to John Liscom, William Howe, Joseph W. Parker and Hervey J. Parker for $2,780. This deed is recorded in Book 384, Page 134. These grantees erected upon this land a four-story brick building, which is now standing thereon, and its outward appearance has not been changed since its erection, a period of some fifty-six years.

Jan. 1, 1850, John Liscom conveyed his share of the wool store, being one undivided fourth, to Joseph W. Parker. This deed is recorded in Book 459, Page 212.

Mar. 19, 1864, Mr. Parker conveyed this undivided one-fourth part to William Howe by deed recorded in Book 683, Page 76.

Apr. 6, 1866, Joseph W. Parker, John Liscom and William Howe, trustees under the will of Philip Ammidown (Mr. Howe having been added to the original number of trustees), conveyed to Harrison Bliss one undivided half of

the Central Exchange estate, which was described as follows:

"Beginning at the southwesterly corner of said estate and bounded west by Main street, on the north by land of the Burnside heirs and land now or late of J. W. Parker and William Howe, and land upon which the engine-house stands belonging to the city of Worcester; on the east by a passage-way leading from Exchange street; on the south by land of the Mechanics Hall Association to the point of beginning, it being a portion of the premises described in the deed of David T. Brigham, recorded in Book 303, Page 272, the easterly portion from said passage-way having been heretofore conveyed, and including one foot in width purchased of Burnside heirs, recorded in Book 379, Page 214.* The consideration in this deed is $20,000, and it is recorded in Book 723, Page 113."

Joseph W. Parker and William Howe also upon Apr. 6, 1866, conveyed to Harrison Bliss one undivided half of the wool store estate, so called, formerly owned by Samuel M. Burnside. The description in this deed is as follows:

"Beginning on Exchange street, at corner of land formerly of Samuel M. Burnside; thence easterly on Exchange street to land on which the engine-house stands; thence southerly on land of the city of Worcester to land formerly of Philip Ammidown; thence westerly on land of heirs of Philip Ammidown to land formerly of Burnside; thence northerly on land of heirs of said Burnside to the point of beginning. The consideration for this deed is $5,000, and it is recorded in Book 723, Page 114."

Mr. Bliss died July 7, 1882, being then the owner of one-half of the Central Exchange estate and one-half of the wool store estate.

At that time the trustees of the Ammidown estate owned one-half of the Central Exchange, and Hervey J. Parker

*This land was purchased of Mr. Burnside, and not of his heirs.

and William Howe owned one-half of the wool store estate. The record title to each of these estates stands the same upon Nov. 26, 1900, as it was in 1882, but it is stated, upon good authority, that in 1883 Mrs. Lizzie B. Dewey, a daughter of Harrison Bliss, acquired the entire title to both of these estates, and it is certain that about that time she took possession of them, and she has ever since been assessed as the owner thereof.

In 1895 and 1896 the Central Exchange was taken down piecemeal and a new building was gradually built over the old, and now an entirely new structure, with modern improvements, stands in the place of the former Exchange and compares favorably with other well-appointed business blocks upon Main and Front streets in Worcester.

Following the reading of the paper, incidents connected with the subject were related by Charles A. Chase and the President.

Mr. Geo. Maynard called attention to the severe illness of Mr. Daniel Seagrave, who, through him, desired to present the Society the original stenographic report of the 25th anniversary of the Society, made by Miss Mary M. Park.

FRANCIS ALEXANDER.

By Mr. B. A. Leonard.

In Wm. Dunlap's History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States (2 volumes, 1834) is some account of Francis Alexander, the artist, with a communication from him giving an interesting history of his early life, struggles, successes, etc., etc.

He says he was born in Killingly, Conn., Feb. 3rd, 1800—his father a farmer of moderate circumstances, he then (1834) 77, and mother 76—and his early life was spent upon the farm. "Went hundreds of times to church, in warm weather, barefoot, three miles." "From the age of 8 up to 20 I labored almost incessantly the eight warm months of the year, upon my father's farm."

"The other four months of the year I went to a country district school until I was 17." "My 18th and 19th winters kept school (in the same district where I had been one of the scholars previously); received $40 the first winter, $44 the second." "Painted a fish at this time, which received much praise. Went to New York to learn to paint."

A Mr. McKay in Warren street, an elderly gentleman, was kind to him and introduced him to Alexander Robertson, then Secretary to the Academy of Fine Arts. Mr. Robertson received him into his school and he staid five or six weeks, when his money gave out and he returned home. Commenced painting on the walls of one of the rooms in father's house, etc.; then a portrait, which his mother praised, etc.

Then painted the portrait of a nephew 3 years old, at one standing. The first was painted upon the lid of an old chest and astonished the neighbors, etc. He next painted the portrait of a nephew 6 years old, "showing his white rows of teeth," etc. "These two were painted on pieces of board I picked up. Were called excellent likenesses. A Mr. Mason offered $5 to paint a little miss full length (he was my first patron). Then was offered by the mother $1 a day to paint the rest of the family—one-half dozen of them; received $13 for 13 days! My fame had now traveled 7 miles."

"I was invited to Thompson to paint several families; received $3 a head and my board. As soon as I had earned $50 or $60, I returned to New York for instructions in portrait painting. The old gent, Mr. McKay, gave me Mr. Stuart's mode of setting the palette, and Col. Trumbull lent me two heads to copy, and treated me with much kindness. Also Waldo and Jewett. After copying the above-named portraits and one or two more, I was obliged to go back to Connecticut, my funds being exhausted. On my return I had the boldness to ask $8 a portrait, and received it!" "Mrs. Gen. Jas. B. Mason of Providence sent for me to paint her family, promising me $15 a portrait." "Labored for him and among her friends with success, etc. Mrs. Mason died while I remained in Providence, when I lost one of my most valuable friends." "I have met with many friends since I took up painting, but among them all, I remember no one who was so zealous, active and untiring in my behalf as Mrs. Mason, nor any one to whom I am half so much indebted for my somewhat successful

career, as to her. I painted two years or more in Providence and received constant employ, and at from $15 to $25 for my portraits. I afterward came to Boston, bringing a painting of two sisters with me, which I carried to Mr. Stuart for his opinion. He called them very clever—that they reminded him of Gainsborough's pictures; that I lacked many things that might be acquired by practice and study, but that I had *that* which could not be acquired. He invited me to come to Boston and set up as portrait painter, so after going home and making the necessary preparations, I returned and commenced painting, when I remained in the full tide of successful experiment until I set sail for Italy on the 23d of October, 1831. In Boston I received $40 for the head and shoulders, 25x30-inch canvas, and more, according to the size. Two years afterward I received $50 and $75 for the Kit-cat size." "I sailed for Genoa, saw the fine paintings there; went to Florence, staid there five or six weeks; renewed my acquaintance with Mr. Thos. Cole, went with him to Rome, roomed with him there three months; then we went to Naples together, visited Herculaneum, Pompeii and Passtum, and returned to Rome again in company. While in Rome I painted the portrait of Miss Harriet Douglass, of New York. Sir Walter Scott being there at the time and an acquaintance of hers, he came with Miss Douglass in her carriage to my studio, where he remained nearly an hour, conversing all the while in a most familiar manner. I had painted an original Magdalen; it was standing on one side of the studio at the time, and Sir Walter moved his chair up within six feet of it; there he sat looking at it for some minutes without speaking. I was all impatience to know what he would say. He turned away with the laconic remark, 'She's been forgiven.' I returned to Florence, staid seven months; returned to Rome the following winter and staid three months more; returned again to Florence; visited Bologna, Pisa and Leghorn, thence to Paris; staid there twenty days; thence to London, there ten days; left in the London packet for New York, on the 25th of August. After visiting my friends a month or two, I took my old room again here in Boston (Columbian Hall), where I have commenced painting with success; received $100 for portraits; have not fixed upon prices yet for more than busts, choosing to recommend myself first, knowing that the good people of our country are willing to pay according to merit. Mr. Cole can perhaps give you some information about your humble servant, if you desire more. When I was a farmer, I used to go three miles before sunrise to reap for a bushel of rye per day, and return at night. Oh! had you seen me then, wending my way to my labors, shoeless, and clad in trowsers and shirt of tow, with my sickle on my shoulder; as you are a painter, you might have given me a few cents to sit for my picture, but you would not have taken any notes for biography. I have written upon a large sheet, and compactly, hoping to have plenty of room, but I might add so much more. Yours truly,

FRANCIS ALEXANDER."

He married the only daughter of Col. Samuel Swett, of Boston, *Lucia Gray*, whose mother was a daughter of William Gray. See New England History and General Register, Vol. XXI, 1867, page 374.

He died in Florence, Italy, March 27, 1880. Miss Larned, in History of Windam County, Conn., pages 542-3, Vol. II, speaks of him.

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AN OVERLAND TRIP TO CALIFORNIA IN THE YEAR 1860.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

You no doubt are all familiar with the history of California, and know that territory was once in the possession of Mexico, and that through the fortunes and misfortunes of war the United States became the possessor in February, 1848, of this land of then untold and undeveloped wealth.

While the American colonies were struggling for their independence in 1776, some of the Fathers of St. Francis established a Catholic mission, called Mission Dolores. It was the first white settlement at San Francisco. These Franciscan Fathers established other missions along the Pacific coast south of San Francisco, and during the fifty years they, with the consent of the native Indians, enjoyed a free run of the Pacific slopes, accumulated a vast amount of wealth, estimated at many millions of dollars, including horses, sheep, cattle, hogs, coin and bullion. At the downfall of the Spanish rule in Mexico, these missions began to decline, and at last were abandoned by the priests, and the property was confiscated in the year 1845.

The excellent climate, fertile soil, and glitter of its gold and silver soon attracted the attention of adventurers in various parts of the country, and people began to find their way into this El Dorado.

Commodore Jones of the United States Navy, in October, 1842, believing that hostilities were in progress between Mexico and his home government, sailed into the harbor of Monterey, captured the fort, hoisted the stars and stripes, and declared California a territory of the United States.

Commodore Jones was nearly four years ahead of time. Undoubtedly his wish was father of his thought. He found the next day that war did not exist between the two countries, hauled down the flag, and apologized to the Mexi-

can authorities for his conduct. Here was one instance where the United States flag was hauled down after having been hoisted over conquered territory, but it was where the declaration of possession was too hastily made. On July 7, 1846, possession was again taken in behalf of the United States, this time by Commodore Sloat, and in less than two years from this date reports of the finding of gold there caused a vast number of fortune-seekers to immigrate to that country. Some went by vessel around Cape Horn, others by way of the Isthmus of Panama (the Nicaragua route being perhaps the chief one). A considerable number, however, found their way across the country, traveling with private teams. The year 1849 is memorable in the history of California as the advent of the mining population. In 1850 the population of the state was 92,600. In 1860, the year your speaker visited the state, it was 380,000; the increase has been at the rate of 200,000 to 300,000 every ten years.

It is a common saying that the old 49-er is invariably *poor*. A very small per cent. of those who went expecting to become rich, lived to enjoy that result of their labors.

Having decided on our journey, we shall proceed to prepare for the start. Lightness and durability must ever be in mind while selecting the outfit. Every pound in weight saved is of the greatest importance. With no repair shops at convenient intervals along the route, strength of materials in the construction of the outfit is also a prominent factor to be considered. A well-made, strongly-ironed, one-horse wagon is purchased, the reach lengthened to appropriately carry a body of about twelve feet in length. This body is carefully put together, made as nearly water tight as it conveniently can be, so that if occasion requires, it may be used as a boat. The sides of the body are about one foot in depth, and supplied with tool-boxes on either side about midway from each end; also another box inside and across the front end, the cover serving as a seat for

the driver when no better one is provided. To the sides (and overarching the body) a set of wooden bows is attached, over which is drawn a canvas cover to furnish protection from the hot sun and the rain. With a brake of sufficient strength to hold the hind wheels from turning and a pole with fixtures for attaching four horses, we have our wagon in readiness. Three or four sets of shoes for each horse must be stored in the tool-boxes, with hammer, nails, and the proper tools for shaping their hoofs; a few pairs of bits and extra straps to provide for breakage of harness; a coil of 25 or 30 feet of ⅝ rope with 18-inch iron pin attached, for each horse; a few draft-chains, and an extra king-bolt or two, will give a fair equipment for that portion of our outfit.

As food for our animals can be obtained along the route for the first few hundred miles, it is not necessary to load the wagons with flour, cornmeal and oats until about to take final leave of the settlements. We, however, provide three dozen two-bushel bags and a half dozen twelve-quart tin pails for use when needed. For a trunk we use a two-bushel bag, and place in it as little wearing apparel as our judgment will suggest for the journey.

With a supply of common remedies to be used in case of sickness of man or beast, we are perhaps ready to make the start. As a body-guard the writer had one rifle, a double-barreled shotgun, a Colt's revolver, with a generous supply of powder and lead, also a sheath-knife.

You may be interested to know what our menu was on this journey: bread, bacon, beans, molasses and coffee. Bread was baked in a baking-kettle covered with hot coals and ashes, baking-powder being used in place of yeast. Fat from fried bacon was a substitute for butter; molasses served for both sugar and milk in our coffee. The beans were stewed in a tin pail hung over the fire. By the killing of wild game we occasionally had fresh meat, regaling

ourselves a few times on steaks from the buffalo, antelope and the grizzly bear.

There are more or less dangers, trials and incidents attending such a trip: dangers from sickness of man or beast caused from poisonous food and drink found by the wayside. One of our party, careful for fear he should receive harm from drinking impure water, carried a little black pepper, and sprinkled that in before drinking water taken from the roadside. Although he lived to complete the trip, he died within a few years; whether from the effects of the pepper or water I never knew. Dangers from Indian depredations, and from stampeding of horses. The latter are perhaps as much to be dreaded as either of the other causes cited. To see your horses galloping out of your sight in the direction of home, the run only to end when the animal's strength has become exhausted, is not a scene pleasant to contemplate.

Some of the trials to contend with are petty jealousies and quarrels; men get tired, and rough, out-of-door life tends to lower the standard of citizenship. I knew a man who, after the passage of a few hot words over the bringing of a basin of water in which to wash his hands, drew his knife and killed his assailant on the spot. This man was courtmarshaled and drummed out of camp, left to seek other company or starve.

Our first stampede occurred while camped a few miles west of Omaha. We were educating our horses to the picket rope. Each horse was fastened by a twenty-five foot rope, one end about his neck, the other end attached to an iron pin driven in the ground. As our animals were of a very lively disposition, it was amusing to see them go through their various evolutions, running from one side to the other as far as the rope would allow, sometimes coming to a short stop, landing on their heads, at others getting wound up with the rope about their legs, requiring some one to release them. After a few days' watching to

help them out of their difficulties, they learned the ropes and kept out of trouble.

It was in the edge of evening when our attention was called to an unusual activity among the horses, and before we could quiet them ten out of the thirteen succeeded in drawing the iron pins and starting for Omaha at the top of their speed. We had the consolation that it was not many miles to the bank of the Missouri river, and that would probably prove a serious barrier to further progress homeward. The writer was not long in mounting one of the remaining horses, and started in pursuit of the runaways. On through Omaha (then a place of but a few thousand inhabitants) the horses were traced, and down to the river-bank, where they turned to the right down the stream. It was getting dark, and the footprints in the sand could no longer be seen, but pursuit was continued and after riding a few miles further came to a thicket of willows. The frequent neighing of the horse under saddle (his mate being among the runaways) was at last answered, and forcing a passage into the thicket, found two of our animals completely wound up among the willows by the long ropes they had been dragging throughout their mad run. A free use of the knife soon liberated them. Darkness preventing further search at this time, I again mounted my horse, and with a runaway on each side, started for the return to camp. Finding one animal did not care to be led, I applied in gentle form a willow switch. At the very first stroke, I found myself dragged from my horse, and going through the brush at a rapid rate, wound up in the coil of rope I had put on my saddle. The thick willows, however, prevented the horse from dragging the saddle and rider a great distance. When the halt was made, found some severe bruises, and as a consequence was quite lame for two or three weeks.

After mending the broken girth to the saddle, to show my friendly feeling for the headstrong animal, placed the

saddle on her back, and reached camp little before midnight. Early the following morning the search was continued, with the result that the other eight animals were found about seven miles further down the river than the patch of willows visited the night before.

Our journey of something more than 2,000 miles in length carries us across (as the map shows to-day) seven states: Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada and California. In 1860 it was three states and three territories, Nebraska, Utah and Nevada being then territories. We cross the Mississippi river by ferry at Dubuque and the Missouri river at Omaha. The pictures given to illustrate this journey were not taken at the time it was made. The kodak was not in common use then. They have been selected, however, to properly represent the general scenery of that region of country.

It is impossible to express in words the beauty and grandeur of the scenery to be found in that western country. It must be seen to be fully appreciated. Through Wisconsin and Iowa the gently-rolling surface, dotted here and there with groves of timber, fertile prairies and clear, running streams, give sufficient variety of landscape to interest the traveler. As you traverse the western portion of Iowa and draw near the Missouri river, you find more of prairie and less of timber. After leaving the Missouri river, proceeding up the Platte river, you soon lose sight of trees altogether. The trail we are to follow extends along the bottom lands, bordering this river about 500 miles. To the north and the south as far as the eye can reach are seen gracefully rolling grassy hills where roam the buffalo, antelope, elk and the coyote. Here also may be found the sage-hen, jack-rabbit and prairie-dog. The latter have their villages, living in their underground houses in company with snakes, owls, etc.

This Platte river valley was at some early period covered with water, forming a very wide stream or great lake.

The water-line was easily traced along the hills on either side as we made our way westward. Sage-brush and grease-wood are about the only shrubs to be seen for hundreds of miles. The stalk of the former in looks resembles the grape-vine. It seldom grows more than five feet in length, usually in clusters, forming a tangled mass upon the ground, and standing up not more than four feet high, size of the stalk not more than two inches in diameter. The grease-wood grows more slender and straight, reaching two to five feet in height. You will therefore understand that fuel was extremely scarce. After reaching the Black Hills, fuel is more plenty, although very little timber came within our view before reaching the Sierra Nevada mountains.

The 5th day of June we took leave of Omaha, and in the afternoon experienced the severest storm it has been the writer's fortune to witness. One wagon was capsized by the wind while traveling in front of us, and when hailstones the size of marbles and even up to hens' eggs came, our horses wheeled from the road and ran with the storm across the smooth prairie at a rapid rate. Coming to a ravine we were able to quiet them, and by holding our blankets over them they stood quietly while we were drenched in the rain that came like a cloud-burst over us. Not until evening did our fifteen men with their five wagons and thirty-seven horses come together again, so widely were they scattered by the storm. On account of wet clothing the writer burrowed for the night in a hay-loft. Four days later we reached Loop Fork, a tributary of the Platte, which we crossed by a ferry. Here we found a village of the Pawnee Indians. They being anxious to sell their wares, our cook, Mr. Frost, on being told they asked two bits for a pair of moccasins, went rummaging in the tool-box for bridle bits with which to purchase a pair, not knowing that their two bits meant two shillings,—a joke he remembered for some time after we let him try to make the purchase.

On coming to Wood river the recent rains had so filled the river-banks we found the bridges carried away, compelling us to ferry over our supplies in one of our wagon-bodies, a long rope being attached to each end of the body, and by that means drawing it back and forth across the stream. Saturday, the 16th of June, we arrived at the fording place on the Platte river opposite Fort Kearney. As many of our party had ordered their mail directed to that post office, there was a strong desire to visit the place, but the spring freshet was on, and the government stage had not been able to cross for a week. We thought of our friends at home, and felt sure we should find some word from them could we reach the post office. Charles Garrett and the writer volunteered to make the attempt. Saddling two of the tallest horses, we mounted them, and after crossing ten channels, the most of them deep enough to cause our horses to swim, we arrived at the fort, found a generous supply of mail-matter, which we carried back over the ford to the eager ones waiting to hear from home.

The following day about noon we espied a small herd of buffalo. Three of the fleetest horses in the party were saddled, and Godfrey, Hart and the writer gave chase. For some reason Godfrey did not follow up when the buffalo began to run, which they proceeded to do as soon as they saw us. Mr. Hart, being on a horse trained for running, soon overhauled the bison he singled out, and poured a broadside from his revolver into the animal, which he carried off seemingly unhurt. Mr. Hart reloaded his revolver and continued the chase.

The third party, with rifle in hand, ran his horse up to a fine specimen, and, finding a deep slough obstructing his passage, dismounted and tried to get a shot, but the frightened horse demanded so much attention that the buffalo was out of range before the horse could be quieted. Again the rider mounted his horse and followed the herd for several miles into the hills. But the great, clumsy-gaited

buffalo in the long run can outdistance the horse. It is only on a quick dash that the horse is able to cope with them for speed. After we had enjoyed our run, and given our game a little lively exercise, returning to the road, came upon friend Hart at a little stream bathing the neck of his horse. "I have accidentally shot this horse," he said as the writer rode up. A careful examination disclosed only a flesh wound across the top of the neck, and with the solemn promise that neither of us should refer to it until further developments, we made our way back to the train, which we overtook about sundown.

During the early part of the chase the writer's hat disappeared, and the blazing sun made severe work with the upper portion of his face, causing no little discomfort for many days.

Thursday, June 21, in the forenoon we espied objects approaching from the west. They proved to be about 400 Sioux Indian braves, all mounted on fleet ponies, and decked in their war-paint and feathers. We breathed more freely when we learned they were not after our fifteen scalps, but were on their way to punish the Pawnees for raids that tribe had been making on their horses and cattle. We kept on our way while they passed us, with all the pomp and stateliness of a regiment of United States Regulars. In their dress they were not confined to regulation uniforms. They wore nearly every style conceivable. Especially prominent were samples of uniforms once worn by our United States soldiers of almost every rank.

About sunset we met the rear guard of this army, composed of the squaws, the elderly and youngest of the party. Some of them were fine specimens of the Indian type. An elderly woman attracted attention on account of the elaborate dress she wore, made of buckskin tanned white, and beautifully embroidered with various colored beads. She was wife of a chief. Whether the presence of Indians in the vicinity had anything to do with the circumstance or

not I cannot say, but a short time before meeting this war party we were startled from our slumbers about midnight by the unwelcome sound of our horses rushing by our wagons in a mad stampede. Thirty out of the thirty-seven horses attempted to show us their heels. All hands were out in a moment; three of the remaining horses were saddled, and Danforth, King and the writer followed in pursuit. The rain was falling in torrents. The only light by which we could follow the trail was from the flash of lightning that came at intervals. Many times we were obliged to dismount and feel with our hands to find the track our wheels passed over the day before. After a ride of twenty-five miles we overtook the runaways at daylight and returned to camp with them.

Two weeks later, just at evening, seven of our lively horses tried the same feat and accomplished more than they set out for. Six only were recovered; one, a fine animal, ran into the Platte river and was drowned. That experience seemed to have its effect on the animals, for we had no more stampedes of any significance during the remainder of the journey.

Castle Rocks, a curiosity well worth a passing glance, stood at the right of the road on the north side of the Platte. June 27th we came in sight of Chimney Rock, a great natural curiosity. Carved from solid rock by action of the elements, it stood there about 50 feet square at the base, 30 feet square at the top and 275 feet high (50 feet higher than Bunker Hill Monument). It was composed of sandstone and stood on the south side of the Platte about three-fourths of a mile back from the river bank. The writer visited it in company with Mr. Frost, and our names were carved at the base of the shaft by the side of hundreds of other names.

On reaching Fort Laramie, we crossed to the south side of the Platte on the ferry. One of our party, who had seen service as cavalryman in the Crimean War, asked the privi-

lege of swimming one of the horses across, suggesting that the other horses could be driven in behind him and they would follow across, thus saving several dollars of toll money. The stream at this point was very deep and the current swift. The loose horses were driven up to the landing ready for the start, and our plucky Englishman mounted a horse and started in. When a few rods from shore, from holding too tight a rein, the horse careened over backward, causing the Englishman to slide off; and losing his hold on the animal, and not being able to swim, was left in a most precarious condition, and soon called loudly for help. One of the Indians, watching the performance, ran to the bank and threw out the end of his lariat, but it was not long enough to reach the drowning man. There was a sharp turn in the current just below the ferry, and to that point we rushed, and there he was rescued, not, however, until he had given himself up for lost.

Our course was now through the Black Hills, in the direction of South Pass. Devil's Gate is a fine natural curiosity, standing at the north of the road about five miles distant. On examining Independence Rock, we found among the names cut in the rock that of John C. Fremont, dated 1842, and again in 1845. Sighting some mountain sheep, the writer took down his rifle, and began to climb for them. After plodding for an hour, found that they were watching closely and moving off, keeping the distance good between us. Not being able to bring them within range, returned to the wagons, believing mountain sheep are very cunning and not easily captured.

For nearly five hundred miles from Fort Laramie to Salt Lake City, we were shut in by mountains, and surrounded by barren rocks and alkali beds, many places showing signs of, at some time, great volcanic action. Here and there were verdant spots to refresh the jaded traveler and his still more tired and jaded horses.

The grand canyons through which we found our way, cut through lofty ledges of solid rock by action of mighty waters or volcanic upheavals, commanded our wonder and admiration, while the grandeur and stateliness of the mighty peaks towering amid the clouds above our heads filled us with bewilderment as we gazed at the marvelous wonders of creation.

Many if not all of you have, at some time, witnessed what would be termed severe, and perhaps terrific thunder-storms; but to get the best effect of such a storm, you need to be engulfed in the cloud itself. At a height of over 7,700 feet above the sea, while traveling in the midst of the clouds, shut in on either side with high mountains, we witnessed one of those grand displays. To be sure, the roar of the peals of thunder was almost deafening, but to see the electricity all about you, darting over the ground like so many huge snakes, was indeed an interesting sight. All felt more at ease after the excitement was over.

After going through South Pass, we came to Simpson's Hollow, where we found cinders and old irons, all that was left of the seventy government wagons captured and burned by the Mormons two years before.

For a number of years prior to 1858, the Mormons in Utah had come to believe they were the supreme authority there, and almost openly defied the government authorities. That terrible slaughter known as the Mountain Meadow Massacre, 1857, caused drastic measures to be introduced by the United States government to remind the Mormon leaders of their allegiance to the territorial laws. Government troops were sent out to enforce these laws, and the Mormons organized their army to oppose them. The capture and burning of this train of seventy wagons were one result of the severe tension of the time.

The Mormons fortified Echo canyon, where they expected to meet and annihilate the United States troops before they should reach Salt Lake City.

This canyon is one of the finest natural curiosities to be seen on the journey. It is twenty-two miles long, with Echo creek running through its entire length. Perpendicular rocks line both sides nearly all the distance, and in places extending hundreds of feet in height. The road down through the canyon runs most of the way in the bed of the creek, crossing it seventeen times in going the twenty-two miles.

The strata of these perpendicular rocks lining the sides are composed of various colored sandstone, in which the action of frost and rain has carved out beautiful specimens of pinnacles, domes, and turrets. With the sunlight streaming upon them, they at times present a sight of rare beauty.

As we descended the mountain leading to the eastern entrance to the canyon, a short distance from the trail at the right we found a cache, a room ten or twelve feet in diameter, cut out of the rock by Indians, in which to store their supplies.

Passing on through the canyon, we came to the ovens used by the Mormons in baking bread for their army while the place was fortified by them. At one side of this narrow passageway they threw up a high embankment of earth and rock to check the progress of the United States army in that narrow defile, and at the proper signal the Mormons had arranged to roll down vast quantities of rocks collected on the summit of the overhanging ledges, and thus crush out the life of our government soldiers. Many cords of those rocks were to be seen piled up ready for use.

After fording Green river, we turned through Parley's Park, and on over the summit that separated us from the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

On reaching the westerly side of this park, finding excellent feed for our horses, we remained in camp three days, improving the time by calling on William Kimball, son of a prominent Mormon of that name, who owned a large ranch here.

Never can I forget the thrill of delight that came over me as we stood upon the last summit that separated us from the valley of the Great Salt Lake. For weeks we had been traveling through deep valleys and canyons, with high peaks all about us, our vision comparatively shut in, except skyward, when early one morning we began to climb this mountain-ridge that stood across our pathway to the great Mormon city. All day we plodded on, walking by our wagons to relieve the tired animals as they labored under their heavy loads. On and up we went, only stopping for a brief rest at the noon hour, then pushing forward, thinking as we passed over each rise that there could be but one more to climb; but one and another came looming up before us, when at last, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, we reached the summit. For a moment all in the party were speechless at the enchanting scene presented to their view. The next moment hats went whirling in the air; their voices rang with joy as they looked out upon the beautiful panorama at their feet. Across the valley twenty miles away stood the range of mountains that formed the barrier on the west. To the south, as far as the eye could reach, were the placid waters of Utah lake, with its surface glistening in the sunlight; away to the north could be seen the Great Salt Lake, and winding down through the valley below like a huge serpent, and connecting these two bodies of water, was the river Jordan, along whose banks could be seen numerous herds of cattle and horses feeding upon the rich carpet of green that was spread out before us. In the right-hand corner of the picture, resting between the waters of Salt Lake and the foot of the snow-capped mountain, stood the city of the Latter-Day Saints, the long-looked-for resting-place for weary men and jaded horses.

Thus far so little trouble from outside influences had come to our notice that we began to believe that our company of fifteen men could face almost any like undertaking. But the reports that came from officers of the United States

army, then conducting a sharp campaign against the war-like Indians west of Salt Lake, led us to remain here about three weeks, for the purpose of recruiting our horses and accumulating the proper number of men for self-protection through the Indian country we must pass.

At last we decided to go by Simpson's cut-off, a route then recently explored by Lieut. James H. Simpson, U.S.A., and traveled by the Pony Express, and our original company of fifteen again took up the march, and after traveling four days, halted for the others to come up and complete the contemplated organization.

One evening, while camped at the foot of a mountain, the horses were given their liberty to grope about for feed, and being stationed some little distance from the wagons, the writer was left to watch them while the rest of the men went down to the wagons for supper. Darkness was slowly creeping over the sides of the mountain, yet it was light enough to faintly distinguish several horses moving off in a direction that convinced the writer that they were not feeding, and on investigation found three Indians making off with four horses. Two well-directed shots from a Colt's revolver saved three of the horses, the Indians leaving them, and pushing on up the mountain with the other one, exchanging shots as they went. The firing had signaled the men at the camp, who quickly came to render their services. But it being too dark to follow the trail of the stolen horse, we concluded to wait until morning, when we would pursue the robbers. Several times during the night, by the light of the moon, Indians were seen skulking about the camp, but at a safe distance away. At early morning light, we found the tracks of our missing horse, and followed over the mountain, down the other side through the bed of a small stream, and on several miles. Coming to an Indian camp we reconnoitred and estimated 75 to 100 Indians there. Believing discretion the better part of valor, the four pursuers returned to their camp for recruits, intending

to return and storm the Indian camp unless our stolen horse was given up. About the middle of the afternoon, greatly to our astonishment, an Indian came riding into our camp leading the stolen horse, which he, the chief, came to return. We rewarded him for his kindness, as we were glad to end the matter so easily.

Our company soon assembled, giving us thirty-eight men, fourteen wagons and about sixty horses. We elected Mr. Woodside captain. He was a delegate from Oregon to the National Convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency that year, and on his way home. He was an experienced frontiers-man, and we were glad to secure his services. We were also joined here by "Billy" Rogers, United States Indian agent for the Shawshonee tribe, who had been escorted through the hostile Indian country on his way to Salt Lake by United States soldiers, and was now returning to his tribe in Ruby valley and wished to travel with us.

Six days out from Salt Lake City, during our noon hour in Tooele valley, three armed men came riding through our drove of horses and mules as they were feeding. Coming up to the wagons the spokesman of the party claimed a certain pair of mules, to which he pointed. The owner stepped forward to learn from the visitor, who stated he was a sheriff, and there to take possession of those mules; that they had been stolen from one of the three visitors. The mules were examined, and sure enough the private mark he described was on them. The man, who had just joined our company, said he purchased those mules at Omaha of a man claiming to be a nephew of Brigham Young, and had traveled thus far from the Missouri river with them, and felt that he was the rightful owner. The sheriff replied he would have to take possession of the mules, and our friend could go before the court and let that tribunal decide the case. Our men held consultation, and concluded if we resisted the sheriff some

one of the party would be likely to get severely hurt, perhaps killed. As the traveler was a stranger to us, it would be best for him to go to the courts with his case, although many of us were convinced in our own minds that the unfortunate man would never have possession of his mules again, and our heartfelt sympathy followed him as he passed out of our sight on his way to Tooele (the county seat) in company with the sheriff and his deputies. We never heard from our friend afterward, although we were told that such cases came up quite often; that horses, mules and cattle were taken down to the Missouri river, sold to or exchanged with people going to California, and when arriving at Salt Lake the animals were claimed as stolen property. Of course the courts must hold the property on the evidence.

Sept. 4 we came to the Great American Desert, forty-five miles without feed or water. Started to cross it at six o'clock in the afternoon, carrying what water and fresh grass we could for the horses; when half way over gave each animal his allowance of water, with a pint of flour stirred into it, accompanying it with a few mouthfuls of grass. The stop was very short indeed. Pushing on, reached the opposite side about four o'clock the following afternoon.

We now found ourselves in the centre of Indian hostilities. Obliged to travel through the daytime with a guard posted each side of our train ready for an attack any moment. United States soldiers were patrolling the country, driving the Indians back from the track of the Pony Express. Collisions with them were frequent. Indian signal-fires could be seen every night, and as at that time a double guard was required, each man in the company was obliged to serve every other night, and remember well what a difficult task at times it was to keep awake.

Antelope and Egan canyons were given us as extremely dangerous places to pass through; but the United States soldiers kept the Indians so thoroughly occupied that we

escaped unmolested, reaching William Rogers' ranch in Ruby valley September 14th, and out of the way of the hostiles.

Mr. Rogers was in charge of a large tribe known as Shawshonee Indians, with headquarters in this valley. He gave us an exhibition of Indians shooting and capturing wild steers, giving the whole Indian camp a treat to an extra ration of fresh beef in honor of our visit. From here we pushed on, coming to another desert, about thirty-five miles in width. This we crossed during the night of Sept. 29th. Reaching the Carson river, we followed that some distance, when we came to Fort Churchill, a new outpost in Nevada, then being erected for protection of the mining settlements that were then fast developing. Virginia City at this time was only a cluster of cloth tents. Carson City could boast of several wooden structures one story in height. We went sight-seeing one evening in Carson City. Passing along the street, hearing strains of music, we went into a large room. At one side of the entrance was a well-stocked bar; across the rear end of the room was a platform on which the musicians were stationed; the remaining portion of the room was taken up with small tables, at which gamblers were seated trying their luck at cards. Knives and pistols were in evidence everywhere. While we were enjoying the music, some gambler drew his weapon to settle a dispute, when the order was instantly given: "All lights out; every one remain still; and don't shoot!" The proprietor soon quieted the parties, and lights were turned on. Thinking our services were not needed there any longer, we withdrew, that the gamblers might have the room to themselves. There was a dead man lying in front of that place in the morning.

Five days' travel from Carson City carried us over the Sierra Nevada mountains to Placerville, or Hangtown as it was sometimes called.

After toiling over a very dusty road two more days, we

came in sight of the city of Sacramento, the end of our carriage drive of the year 1860.

If you will bear with me a little longer, will close the entertainment by relating my experience in quicksand.

In November, 1861, California suffered severely from disastrous floods. There had been a heavy fall of snow in the mountains; in places it reached nearly as high as the top of the telegraph poles, and when the rainy season began floods of water went sweeping over the lowlands. The north fork of the American river rose fifty-five feet.

The city of Sacramento stands at the junction of the American and Sacramento rivers. Both these streams overflowed their banks. The country for miles around was covered like a great lake. The up-river steamboats made trips across the country, rescuing people from their houses, carrying them to high land for safety. One of these steamboats was caught when the water suddenly subsided, in a garden on the easterly side of Sacramento, and remained there for more than two months. In portions of the city houses were lifted from their foundations, and some of the smaller ones capsized by the weight of their chimneys. Had this flood reached Sacramento in the night-time, there would have been great loss of life, but it appeared about seven o'clock in the morning, and warning was given as the water came rolling over the country, carrying fences and small outbuildings in its folds as it crept along. The writer was boarding at a hotel on K street, rooming on the first floor. The warning soon came to move up onto the second floor. Hastily hanging my traveling bag with its contents on a big nail driven in the wall near the ceiling, I made my way up stairs, and taking a seat at the window watched the mad rushing waters as they swept down the street, carrying wagons, carts, henhouses, and almost every conceivable thing that would float. Small boats were at a premium. At first all attention was given to saving men, women and children; then the cattle and horses were looked after.

Having two horses in a stable near the hotel, I finally succeeded in hiring a boat to go to their rescue. Found them three feet deep in water. With a man to row, I, from the stern of the boat, led them out one at a time, swimming them around three blocks onto I street, where they could stand out of water. There I took care of them several days and nights, when they were removed out of the city and given better accommodations. It was not possible to go outside the house without a boat, so sent to San Francisco by steamer for lumber to make one twenty feet long, with three sets of row-locks, and soon had it ready for use, doing a vast amount of work with it transporting passengers and freight. The railroad trains could not come within two and a half or three miles of the city, and we occasionally ran our boat out to bring in passengers. On one of these trips we attempted to get further up the channel and save a portion of the walk for the passengers. The water was disappearing, three months having passed since the flood came, bringing with it the wash of innumerable mining camps, leaving the water thick with a sediment that appeared as a quicksand after the water had drained off. In the submerged houses this sediment left a deposit from one to five feet in depth on the first floors, and out in the open fields it filled up all the low spots, leaving to appearance a level or even surface.

The writer, in attempting to cross one of these level fields to reach the train of cars, chanced to pass over a low spot that had been filled with this quicksand. It was a perfect trap, for its surface looked dry and hard. Being supplied with long rubber boots, I tripped along, hurrying over a few soft places, thinking soon it would come harder, or I should reach solid ground. Finally exhausted in the struggle to extricate my feet from the mud, I stopped to rest, while the downward motion continued more rapidly after breaking through the crust. Finding, after going down two feet, that I was still settling, I began to struggle to lift

myself out, but the more I tried that, the faster I went down. At a house near by a woman appeared at the window. Seeing me, she spoke to her husband, who came to the door and asked how I came there. I told him, and asked how deep it was. He said nine feet; I suggested that he pull off boards from a fence near by and lay them out to me, that I might place my hand on them and lift myself out. After a feeble attempt, as the boards sank in with him, he abandoned the job, and went back into the house. By this time I was down to my waist, with the foundations still settling. My presence at the train had been missed, and my friend, who came in the boat with me, began to look for me, and came around the corner of this house just at the desirable moment. I at once called his attention to those boards on the fence, and in less time than it takes to tell it, he laid them out on the quicksand to me, and with one on each side to lift upon, I pulled myself out, not, however, without severe effort, from which strain it took many weeks to recover. In this experience I learned a lesson. Whenever you get into deep quicksand, straighten out upon your back and roll off. You may soil your clothes, but save your life.

358th Meeting.

Tuesday evening, April 2, 1901.

President Crane in the chair.

Others present: Messrs. Arnold, Bancroft, Dickinson, Davidson, Darling, Ely, C. B. Eaton, W. G. Forbes, Gould, Geer, C. G. Harrington, George Maynard, M. A. Maynard, H. G. Otis, Paine, Geo. M. Rice, Salisbury, C. E. Staples, Stiles, Saxe, L. A. Taylor, Williamson, Mrs. Barrett, Mrs. Chenoweth, Mrs. Darling, Miss May, Miss Agnes Waite, Miss A. M. White, and a long list of visitors.

Librarian reported following additions during the past month: 16 bound volumes, 31 pamphlets, 38 papers, and 11 miscellaneous articles.

Owen W. Mills, a teacher of Millbury, Mass., proposed by Charles A. Geer, was elected to active membership on recommendation of the Standing Committee on Nominations.

M. A. Maynard called attention to the proposed change in the By-Laws of the Society, recommended by the Executive Committee, stating that it meant a return to the more simple rules under which the Society had been governed during the greater portion of its existence. On motion of George Maynard it was voted to leave the matter in the hands of the Executive Committee with instructions to report at some future meeting. Ex-Representative George M. Rice was then introduced and read the following paper, entitled:

GOLD: ITS DISTRIBUTION, IDENTIFICATION, AND METALLURGY.

From the earliest times in the history of the world, gold above all other metals known to man has been the one most prized and sought for, and as a consequence, it has become so interwoven in the monetary systems of nations as a standard or measure of values that it is as necessary for our happiness and well-being as any other article that enters into our daily life.

It is presumable that, before civilization began, gold, although known, was not especially prized; for barbarous nations down to quite recent times having quantities of it in their possession were willing to part with it in exchange for almost any trifle; iron, in their estimation for instance, having a far greater value; as that metal could be put to practical uses in their domestic affairs, and was consequently greatly prized by such people, while gold was of no special use to them, except possibly for personal adornment.

We smile at what we call the innocence of the savages in preferring iron to gold; but they were right from their standpoint at least, their flint or shell knives and arrow heads being of little value as compared to the keen cutting qualities of properly made steel implements; and although iron ore was plentiful enough about them, they knew of no way to extract the metal, while gold could be had for the gathering.

We of to-day would find gold to be a very sorry substitute, indeed, for iron, as it is lacking in nearly all the qualities which have made that metal such a factor in civilization and the arts, as well as conserving to our daily wants in such a multiplicity of ways as it does.

Gold is one of the few metals that occur native, which fact, together with its bright yellow color and great weight,

were the peculiar characteristics which probably first attracted the attention of man.

It is common with us as a comparison, when we wish to express the idea of weight, to say that it is as heavy as lead, and a comparison of the weight of that metal with gold may not be uninteresting.

A cubic foot of lead weighs 709 pounds, while a similar cube of gold weighs 1,203 pounds, a difference of 494 pounds, so that if it required four men to carry the cube of lead up a flight of stairs, it would take seven men to perform the same service for the gold cube.

A cubic foot of gold, as before stated, weighs 1,203 pounds, or 17,543 75-100 ounces, Troy, which at the mint value of $20.67 per ounce, amounts to $361,613.81. A cubic foot of wrought iron weighs 480 pounds; its value at $30.00 per ton would be $7.20, showing the relative money value of equal bulks of the two metals.

Gold, contrary to the generally accepted idea, is one of the most widely distributed metals; it being found in all sections of the earth where the crystalline rocks prevail, although generally in minute quantities. In certain strata of rock, it is present in larger quantities than it is in others. Magnesian rocks seem to hold it in greater degree than other kinds, particularly that variety known as talcose slate, although it may be, and is found, in the upper and more recent series of rocks; instances being known where gold is mined successfully in limestone, King's Mountain mine in North Carolina being an example.

Quartz, in greater or less quantity, is invariably present in ores carrying gold. This quartz may be pure and crystalline, enclosing the gold, or mineralized in such way that quartz goes to make up one of the component parts of the ore, which is generally the case; quartz alone seldom carrying gold in paying quantities.

While something like 67 per cent. of the gold mined in

the world to-day is gained from ores proper, requiring a milling or smelting process to extract the metal, the major portion of the gold now in possession of the people of the world has been won from the sands and gravels, which are but the broken down and comminuted fragments of what were once solid rocks. That stanza in the old Missionary Hymn that says, "Where Afric's sunny fountains roll down their golden sands," is no figure of speech or poetic fancy, but a literal matter of fact. Gold is almost invariably present in river sands in some part of its course, although it may not occur in quantity sufficient to pay for working.

The speaker saw, in Denver, Col., in 1892, an amusing instance of mining river sands; under the guise of placer mining, claims had been located on Cherry creek, a branch of the South Platte river, which flows through a section of that city, and a regular system of dredging and gold saving apparatus installed; the object of the dredging, however, was not for the gold recovered, but the *sand* which was used for building purposes, and in this particular location was valuable. Enough gold was sometimes secured to pay part of the cost of the coal consumed under the boilers, and as the claims could be held under the United States Laws, and sufficient gold actually gained to meet the requirements of the Statutes, no one could molest them, although sand was the real value sought for, and not the gold, its value being insignificant in comparison.

The sands on our seacoasts contain gold, and in some places sea sands are worked for it; notably on the beaches of northern California, Oregon, Washington, and more recently Alaska. In New Zealand the workers in this variety of gold digging are called "beach combers," and are looked upon as an inferior class by other miners.

I will say in passing that tests made on sands collected from certain parts of Nantasket beach gave a value of 5 to 15 cents per ton in gold, which is not enough to make

them of economic importance, but interesting from a scientific standpoint.

It may be stated that all clays belonging to the older geological regions of the earth, contain gold, but seldom in sufficient quantities to pay for its extraction.

Tests have been made of the clays that are common in this vicinity. The clay thrown out in excavating for the cellar and foundations of the State Mutual Life Insurance Company's building in this city gave in one pound of dried clay free from gravel and sand 1-10 milligram of gold equal to 12.6 cents per ton, or, in other words, about 25 cents' worth of gold went out in each two-horse load of "hardpan" or clay excavated.

Sea water also contains gold, as well as other metals, in appreciable amount; it being determined by a long series of researches and experiments that each ton of sea water contains 5 milligrams of gold (about 1-13 part of a grain) and 20 milligrams of silver, having together a money value of a little more than 37-100 of a cent, an amount quite insignificant in itself, but stupendous when the total cubic miles of sea water are taken into consideration. For illustration, a cubic mile of sea water contains 147,197,952,000 cubic feet, which, at 64.3 pounds per foot, equals 9,464,828,313,600 pounds, or 4,732,414,156.8 tons, having in solution 760,752 77-100 ounces of gold, which at a valuation of $20.67 per ounce, would amount to $15,724,754.86, and of silver 3,043,011 13-100 ounces, which valued at 65 cents per ounce, would be $1,977,957.22, or a total value for both metals of $17,702,717.08, and given in round numbers more than 26 tons of gold, and 104 tons of silver are in each cubic mile of sea water.

It has been stated by scientists that if the floor of the ocean was a dead level, its waters would cover the entire surface of the earth to a depth of two miles. What a gold and what a silver mine, then, we have in the sea, if it were

possible to gather its glittering wealth into one solid mass. Insignificant, indeed, would be the accumulated wealth of gold and silver in the world in comparison. No practical way, however, has as yet been devised for its extraction, although frequently attempted.

Oftentimes people find what they believe to be gold, and great expectations are sometimes indulged in as a consequence thereof. A few simple tests that can be performed by any novice may be of service in such cases.

Two substances occur that are commonly mistaken for gold, namely, scales of yellow mica, and sulphuret of iron, sometimes called "fool's gold."

In testing the first substance the great weight of gold affords a ready and conclusive test. Place a quantity of the suspected matter in the bottom of a clear glass tumbler and fill with water; stir it vigorously and watch the order of the settling of its contents; if gold is present it will drop at once to the bottom of the glass and remain there; the gravel, sand or other heavy matters then fall, and lastly the scales of mica, which being lighter than any of the other minerals, are the last to sink to the bottom of the glass; their very light weight thus proving that they are not gold.

Several instances have occurred in our own immediate vicinity where yellow mica has occasioned short-lived "gold" excitements; notably in Spencer, Brookfield, and more recently in Dudley; this variety of mica occurring abundantly in the rocks common in the localities named.

If sulphuret of iron, or so-called "fool's gold," is the substance to be tested, then the extreme malleability of gold constitutes the test. Gold will flatten out by being pounded upon an anvil with a hammer, while sulphuret of iron — commonly called *pyrites*—by the same treatment will crumble to dust. Therefore, we place the suspected mineral on an anvil, or a flat stone, if nothing better is at hand, and

beat it with a hammer, or with another stone. If it flattens out and does not crumble, it is quite likely that you have gold, although *copper* sometimes occurs native and might, under some circumstances, be mistaken for gold in this test.

If the substance tested in this manner pulverizes easily you may be sure that it is not gold, although it may contain gold that is disguised or mineralized; in which case it could only be detected by an assay. If not satisfied fully by the crushing test, throw a portion of the powder into a fire; if it burns with the characteristic blue flame of sulphur, and gives off the familiar sulphurous odor, the test is a complete demonstration that the substance is not gold. Other tests might be mentioned, such as boiling in nitric acid; dissolving in aqua-regia, chlorine water, etc.; all of which require some experience in such matters and will not be dwelt upon.

All native gold contains a percentage of silver which is sometimes present in such quantity as to lower the value to $12.00 or less per ounce. $16.00 to $18.00, however, is the average value of gulch or placer gold; the value varies to a considerable extent according to the location where the metal is found. In some districts as high as $20.00 per ounce is a fair value, and in other districts as low a value as $10.00, or less.

Alluvial gold is won by washing the sands and gravels of ancient or present river beds; which may be by panning, cradling, ground sluicing, sluicing proper, or hydraulicking. The typical California miner of '49 did his mining with the pick and shovel, and washed out his gold with a pan, which was very similar to an ordinary milk-pan, only it was made of sheet iron and not tinned; having found what he calls "pay gravel," he fills his pan and carries it either to the river bank or a pool of water. Placing the pan and its contents just under the water he violently agitates it, hold-

ing the pan at an acute angle, until the light mud and sand are floated off; he then throws out with his fingers all the coarse stones, and by a peculiar working of the pan under water, floats off all the worthless matter except a quantity of black sand, which is invariably associated with gold, and being very heavy collects with it in the angle of the pan. This black sand is practically magnetic oxide of iron, which is separated from the gold dust with a hand magnet. The coarse gold is taken out and the fine gold subsequently collected by quicksilver. This manner of working is very slow and laborious. Our typical miner disdains anything less than "ounce diggins"; that is, his day's labor must yield him an ounce of gold.

The cradle is a machine very much like the old wooden affairs in which our grandfathers were rocked, except that it has what would be called a coal sieve at the upper end, underneath which was an apron set at an angle so as to deflect the water and its burden of sand to the upper part of the floor of the cradle. Cleats are nailed across the bottom to retain the gold, or mercury. The cradle is set at a slight grade and the gravel shoveled into the sieve, and water poured in gradually from a dipper; the cradle meanwhile being rocked back and forth. This process is continued until all the fine material has been washed through the sieve, which retains the coarse stones, etc., which are then thrown out. The gold is collected from the pockets formed by the cleats on the bottom of the cradle, or as amalgam, if quicksilver is used. This cradle process requires two or more persons to keep in continual operation, but will work many times the amount of gravel that it is possible to work by panning.

"Sluicing" consists in shoveling the gravel into a trough constructed of boards, usually about two feet wide on the bottom, with sides about ten inches high, and made in sections some ten feet long. In the bottom of this sluice are constructed what are known as "riffles," which comprise a

grating made by placing two-inch strips of board on edge lengthwise of the sluice, leaving a space of about an inch between each strip. These riffles are framed together by transverse bars so that they can be easily removed when a "clean-up" is made. The sluice is set at a sufficient grade so that when a stream of water is led into it, stones as large as a man's head are readily washed through. The sluice is built of any desired length, and any number of men may shovel gravel into it, providing the supply of water is sufficient to wash the gravel and keep the sluice clear of tailings. The gold settles down into the spaces between the slats, and a clean-up is made by removing the riffles and panning or cradling out the gold from the sand; mercury is sometimes used in the lower run of boxes to gather the fine gold.

Ground sluicing is a similar process, except that the ground itself makes the sides and "bed rock" the floor and riffles of the sluice.

Hydraulicking is that process where a stream of water is piped under heavy pressure and discharged onto the gravel deposit, which is moved by the force of the water alone. Ditches, which are constructed to convey the water, are sometimes many miles in length, and find their level high on the sides of the hills at the place where used; a head of two to five hundred feet not being uncommon. The water is led down the hill-side through wrought-iron pipes and discharged from a nozzle that is so constructed and mounted that it can be deflected, or moved in any direction, and controlled by one man. The force of the water issuing under high pressure through a four-inch nozzle is tremendous. The gravel banks melt away under this torrent like snow beneath a summer sun, even the very hills themselves disappearing in time under its terrific force. The gold is saved in a huge sluice of great length, which is paved with cobble-stones, and which serves the same purpose as the riffles in the smaller sluices before mentioned. By this hy-

draulic process, large areas of land can be worked, and poor gravel made to give a substantial profit. An exceptional case that may be mentioned, is one where gravel yielding but three cents per cubic yard gave a dividend to the company operating the mine; ten cents per cubic yard, however, is generally considered poor ground.

This process is not at present in general use in California, because of a law enacted against it, as the tailings or slickings made by washing down the immense areas of gravel were fast filling up the river beds, covering and destroying thousands of acres of farm lands in the valleys below the mines, and making general havoc throughout the state.

Gold is also mined from the old river beds which occur on the sides of the present valleys. This gravel is extracted by "drifting" in a manner similar to that of coal mining, and the gold washed out in a sluice; or if "cemented," as it sometimes is, crushed and amalgamated in a mill.

Much gold is now being recovered by dredging machines working in river beds and areas wholly or partly covered by water. These dredges are fitted with machinery for washing the material brought up by the dredging buckets and saving the gold. This form of gold mining is increasing fast, as these machines have been so perfected that they have become very efficient, and pay large dividends on the capital invested if located on proper ground.

Gold ore proper is quartz, which may or may not contain other minerals, and is found in veins or leads inclosed in other rocks. What are known as "contact veins" are usually considered the best.

A contact vein is one that is bedded between two kinds of rock, as, for instance, slate on the hanging wall and granite on the under-lay or foot wall. The gold is not distributed equally through a vein, but usually follows well-defined chutes or chimneys, which are sometimes so extensive as to be called "bonanzas," but outside of which the ore is too poor to pay for working. If the gold contained

in the ore is "free," that is, capable of being amalgamated by mercury, it is treated by what is known as the mill process. In this process, the ore is first coarsely crushed in a rock breaker, the largest pieces of which are about the size of stove coal, and then fed into a stamp mill which contains five ponderous stamps, or pestles, in each battery or set. These stamps weigh from 700 to 1,000 pounds each, and are lifted by cams at the rate of 80 or more drops per minute. They fall a distance of about 8 inches. Each stamp drops on a die which is contained in a coffer or mortar, the mortar having one or more open sides, in which screens or gratings are placed. The screens are of a size of mesh suitable for the ore under treatment, usually about 40, or 1,600 holes per square inch. A stream of water is led into the mortar which drives the ore, when crushed fine enough, through the screen, by the splash produced by the fall of the stamp. Outside the mortar, a copper apron, or series of plates are placed, which are amalgamated or coated with quicksilver, and over which the crushed ore, together with the water, is conducted. The gold, by reason of its weight, sinks onto the plates; combines with the mercury to form an amalgam, and is retained by them.

Other appliances are used to trap the gold, a percentage of which escapes, however, in the tailings or waste. After a certain amount of ore has been crushed in the mill, depending on its richness, the stamps are hung up, the amalgam scraped off the plates, the plates re-coated with mercury, and the crushing, etc., resumed as before. The amalgam is subsequently distilled in an iron retort to recover the mercury, the gold being left in the retort as a spongy mass, which is removed, melted down in crucibles with fluxes, run into bars, and is then ready for market.

If the ore, being milled, contains a mixture of sulphurets, which may be of iron, copper, lead or other metal, the ore is crushed and amalgamated as before, and the sulphurets contained in the tailings concentrated, that is, separated

from the worthless rock by special machinery constructed for that purpose. The concentrates are either treated on the spot by chlorination, or sold to smelting works. These concentrates are many times richer than the original ore, but require a special treatment to extract the gold.

If treated by chlorination the concentrates are dried and then thrown on the bed of a roasting furnace and exposed to the combined action of heat and air until all the sulphur is burnt off, and the metals oxidized or roasted dead. After it has cooled it is then slightly moistened with water and shoveled into tubs capable of holding three tons or more. These tubs are fitted with covers which are luted on with a dough made of wheat flour, and are furnished with an inlet at the bottom and an outlet through the cover. Chlorine gas is then generated in a retort and conducted up through the ore in the tub, until the chlorine shows by test at the outlet, which is then closed and the ore allowed to lie in the gas for forty-eight hours, by which time the gold is converted into a chloride, soluble in water. The covers are then removed and the gold leached out by running water through the ore in the tubs, then precipitated from the water by a solution of sulphate of iron, or copperas, which throws down the gold as a brown powder or precipitate. This is collected, washed, melted down in crucibles and cast into bars; these several operations constituting what is known as the "Plattner process," first and for many years used in this country in California.

In a later and more improved variation of this process, the roasted ore is charged into a lead-lined barrel, together with a quantity of chloride of lime or bleaching powder. Water is added in sufficient quantity to form a thin pulp, together with enough sulphuric acid to more than decompose the bleaching powder. The barrel is quickly closed up and revolved for three or four hours, when the gold will be found dissolved as in the first process. The contents of

the barrel are then discharged onto a filter bed and the gold leached out and precipitated as before.

Another method, known as the cyanide process, has lately come into extensive use in many localities, particularly for the extraction of the gold and silver still remaining in the tailings from quartz mills. Briefly stated, in this process the tailings are shoveled into iron tanks holding ten tons and upwards, and the gold and silver leached out by a solution of cyanide of potassium containing about .5 of one per cent. or less of that salt, the leach being effected in a manner similar to that used by our grandmothers in leaching ashes. The gold and silver are then separated by running the leach solution over zinc shavings, on which it precipitates; the leach liquor being brought up to the proper strength by adding fresh portions of the cyanide salt, and in this manner used over indefinitely. Large amounts of gold and silver are now recovered by this process from material formerly considered worthless.

When gold occurs in combination with massive copper, or lead ore, it is treated by smelting, usually in blast furnaces. The gold and silver follow the copper or lead in either case. The method employed to separate the gold and silver from the copper is known as the electrolytic process, which not only affords chemically pure copper, now so imperative for use in electrical appliances, but also saves every atom of precious metal present in the crude copper. This process consists in subjecting impure copper, cast in the form of plates, to the action of a current of electricity, the plates forming the annodes, which are immersed in an acid solution of sulphate of copper, and sheets of pure copper forming the cathodes, which are arranged in pairs in a series of vats. On passing a current of electricity of proper tension through this arrangement, the copper in the annode plates is gradually dissolved and is immediately deposited on the cathode plates. The gold, silver, etc., which

in this instance are impurities, are not soluble in the menstrum employed, and fall to the bottom of the vat as fine mud or precipitate, which is gathered from time to time and afterwards refined. Large amounts of precious metals are gained in this way that formerly went to waste.

If the ore is smelted with lead ores, so-called "base bullion" is formed, which is metallic lead alloyed with the gold, silver and other metals occurring in the ore, and reduced by the furnace process.

This lead is melted down in huge kettles holding ten tons or more, and when fluid a certain percentage of pure zinc is added, the metal being thereafter thoroughly agitated or stirred up. The affinity of the gold and silver for zinc is greater than it is for lead when both are in a molten condition, consequently they forsake the lead to combine with the zinc; and when the fluid metal is allowed to stand and cool, the zinc being a lighter metal than lead rises on the surface, and in cooling forms a crust or scum which contains practically all the gold and silver. This crust is skimmed off from the still fluid lead and subjected to a special treatment to recover the contained metals. These crusts, however, contain a large percentage of lead mixed with the zinc and other metals, requiring a further process to separate the gold and silver. The lead remaining in the kettle is separately refined and cast into pigs for market. Cupellation is a final process, where lead forms the major part of an alloy. This process is, briefly, melting and then oxidizing and slagging off the lead in the form of litharge on the hearth of a peculiarly constructed reverberatory furnace, until nothing but gold and silver remains on the test or hearth, and is the process by which the gold and silver are refined that are recovered by the zinc process mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the zinc being distilled off from the alloy metals previous to cupellation.

Thus briefly have been outlined the processes most in use in the metallurgy of gold; their variations are endless,

and are multiplying daily; by their application more gold is being won to-day than ever before in the history of the world, and as a consequence mankind is advancing rapidly in every department of human knowledge, and, let us hope, in those attributes which make him more Godlike and better fitted for the life to come hereafter.

Mr. Rice placed on exhibition a fine collection of samples of ores and metals to illustrate points in his paper, among which were samples from the Old Silver Mine in Worcester, which he said was opened about the year 1750, and re-opened fifteen years ago, when the ore yielded about twenty-five dollars per ton of various metals. Considerable interest in the subject was shown by the various questions presented to and answered by Mr. Rice.

Hon. Stephen Salisbury was then introduced and read the following papers prepared by Mrs. E. O. P. Sturgis, which were listened to with great interest, Mrs. Sturgis having furnished the Society with several valuable historical reminiscences.

OLD WORCESTER. I.

The Worcester of my young days bore little resemblance to the city of to-day, though the natural features are the same, but buildings have covered the ground so entirely, that the marked lines of the hills are almost obliterated. It can hardly be called "The City of the Seven Hills," but it is almost entirely built on hills, or their sides. Take Lincoln street, for instance, it being laid out on the western declivity of "Millstone Hill," the water-shed rising high up on the east, and the hill inclining gradually down to Lincoln square on the south, while on the western slope the descent

is much steeper, making a sharp incline before reaching the valley. Main street, too, is laid out on the side of a hill, which begins at Lincoln square and rises up, by a sharp ascent towards the west, while on the eastern declivity the land descends to the valley, and from thence rising up again towards the east. At the northern and southern extremities of Main street were two small hills, or spurs of the main elevation, both covered with buildings. The northern one is called "Court Hill" and a flight of stone steps as well as a steep roadway led to the lower Main street, on the north, while on the south side, the descent was very gradual, until it joined Main street proper. On the southern eminence there were no steps, but the ascent and decline were similar to the northern, or Court Hill. On both hills an iron fence protected the pedestrian from falling into the street. Main street, as I first recall it, practically began and ended between "The Old South Meeting House" and the "Salisbury Mansion." The street was broad and shaded by fine old elm trees, and on the western side was lined with houses, some having gardens on the front and some in the rear of them. A few shops were interspersed with the houses, while two meeting houses, the "Unitarian" and the "Orthodox," with the old school-house and the "Court House," well filled up that side of the street. The eastern side also had houses on it, and most of them had large gardens in the rear, for the lay of the land was such that no other arrangement was possible. All the taverns of the town were on this side, and there were more shops than on the opposite one. The old "Town Hall" and the "Old South Meeting House" nearly filled up the space on the western end of the common. Let us recall some of the old landmarks. Those whose knowledge of the "Salisbury Mansion" is derived from its present aspect and surroundings in the midst of steam and electric cars, can hardly realize what its appearance was in the old days. This stately and beautiful house was built in 1770,

by Mr. Stephen Salisbury, the grandfather of the present owner, and occupied by him until his death, in 1829, and subsequently by his widow and their only child, the late Stephen Salisbury. The only occupant of the house after the marriage of her son was "Madam Salisbury," as she was always styled, whom I frequently visited; and I recall distinctly the handsome old lady in the southwest parlor, which was her favorite room, and where in winter was always burning a bright wood fire, and probably this house was the last one in Worcester where the man servant would bring in the logs of wood in what was called a "leather apron," a broad strip of leather with handles at each end. Mrs. Salisbury was Miss Elizabeth Tuckerman, a member of the very prominent family of that name in Boston, and sister of Dr. Joseph Tuckerman, the noted philanthropist, and the pioneer of the "Home Missionary" movement, which has done so much to ameliorate the condition of the poor in large cities. The house faced up Main street and was always bathed in sunshine, and an unobstructed view was had of its whole length. There was a lawn in front of the house divided by a stone walk, on both sides of which were shrubs and trees. On the east side of the house were parlors, from the windows of which one looked out on a strip of lawn, on which were shrubs, and over Salisbury's brook, the depth and width of which were regulated by the abundance of water, or the reverse, in the ponds in the northern part of the town; to Lincoln street, a green field intervening between the brook and the street. All the surroundings were peaceful and quiet, and the only sound heard was the lapping of the water against the stone wall, which prevented the ground from being washed away. On the western side of the house the view was of green fields, for the Antiquarian Hall was not yet built on the site where it now is, and the lawn of Mr. Stephen Salisbury's house reached down to the roadside. There was not much passing on the west side of the house, for there

were only a few scattered farms beyond until after 1836, and then when the Rural Cemetery was completed, long lines of carriages passed from time to time up and down this roadway bearing often friends and acquaintances of the occupant of this house, and always leaving behind them one of their number to rest with their kindred in those sacred precincts. Finally, the friends and kindred of Madam Salisbury followed her to her last resting place, and this ancient house no longer sheltered the descendants of its founder.

While so near it, we will take a look at the old jail on the opposite side of Lincoln square. It was a tall and most forbidding looking building of stone, the windows being barred with iron. In it some of the English prisoners were confined during the War of 1812. The saddest event connected with this old jail* was the trial and execution of Mrs. Spooner, more than one hundred years ago. She was the daughter of Brigadier-General Ruggles of Hardwick, one of the most prominent men in the county of Worcester, and one of the most noted of the American Royalists. This lady did not murder her husband herself, but she hired others to put him down a well, and in consequence she was arrested, brought to Worcester, and very possibly tried in the old historic "Court House"† which has so recently renewed its youth, and was condemned to be hung. She claimed that another life was bound up with hers, but the authorities would not listen to her, so she went to her doom dressed in a rich brocade dress, and sitting in an old-

* Mrs. Spooner and her associates in crime were incarcerated in the old wooden jail on the north side of Lincoln square, near the entrance of Lincoln street, the old stone jail not having been erected till 1788, ten years after the trial, and which stood on the south side of Lincoln square.

† By common tradition, corroborated by the testimony of persons present, the trial was held in the "Old South Church." The session of the court was called to be held in the court house, now the Trumbull mansion, but for lack of room the trial was adjourned to the church, there being great interest manifested in the trial.

fashioned chaise. She met her fate on "Mill Stone Hill,"* and at the post-mortem examination it was discovered that her story was true and that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had murdered an innocent child, a foul blot on its good name. This lady was buried on "Mill Stone Hill," in the Green Woods. All the details of this crime may be read among "The State Trials of Massachusetts." Although women have committed murder since the date of this unfortunate affair, none, perhaps on account of it, have had capital punishment meted out for the crime, and it seems to have become an unwritten law that no woman shall again be hung in the "Old Bay State."

On the southern corner of Main and School streets there stood, in the early part of the nineteenth century, a hardware shop, which was bought by Dr. Wm. Paine, about 1818, I think, for I can't fix the exact date, and was fitted up by him as a dwelling place for his daughter, Mrs. Harriet Paine Rose, making the entrance on School street. Mrs. Rose had returned from the Island of Antigua some time previously to Worcester, not because it was her native town, for she had been born in one of the numerous places her parents had resided in during Dr. Paine's banishment from the United States, but on account of wishing to be near her father and mother in their declining years. Her husband was Mr. Joseph Rose, an Englishman, and a West Indian planter, and she had resided for many years in Antigua. Her family consisted of herself and two daughters, the oldest, Harriet Paine Rose, a young lady in society who later became Mrs. John C. Lee of Salem, and a little girl of ten years of age, named Josephine, who married Dr. George Chandler of Worcester, many years later. A slave woman named Mary, who had followed her mistress from

* On the testimony of witnesses who were present, the place of execution was on a knoll which occupied the site of the present Union Station, being on the east side of the old Worcester and Grafton road.

the "Rose Plantation," also made a part of the household. Miss Rachel Rose, a sister of Mr. Rose, also formed part of the family and was a very important member of it, for she was its staff and stay. This lady was much esteemed by her friends, being a kind-hearted woman, having much energy of character, and a large share of common sense. Having been born and bred in England, she found it difficult at times to adapt herself to the free and easy ways of New England life and was much annoyed that her young niece should be sent to school to mix with children of all ranks in life, and urged upon the child not to play with her schoolmates out of school. But the little English child with Yankee air had imbibed Yankee notions of independence, and announced to her scandalized aunt "that if the children were good enough to go to school with, they were good enough to play with out of school, and that she should continue to do so." In a letter from Miss Rose to one of her friends, describing this incident, she writes: "There has been a coolness between me and Josephine ever since." The child, however, went on her way rejoicing, and did not then stop to inquire into the pedigree of her schoolmates, no more than she did into those of her friends of later life, or of any one on whom she wished to confer a kindness. Miss Rose also feared the little girl might contract some disease at school, but she writes, "Dr. Paine tells me not to worry, for Josephine never stops still long enough to catch anything." Miss Rose in one of her letters writes, "The good doctor has spent a great deal of money on the house, and we call it 'The Arsenal'," and indeed she dates many of her letters with that title. Miss Harriet Rose owned one of the four pianos in the village of Worcester, and as her aunt was an accomplished performer on the tambourine, there was no lack of music for the young friends of the household when they wished to dance.

A short distance below Mrs. Rose's house on School street, on the same side of the way, was what must have

been a part of an old meeting-house or chapel, for some few pews were left in the room and in it a Mrs., or Miss, Collins taught an infant school, which I attended at the mature age of two years, to begin my education.

Dr. Paine's house, my home, was, I suppose, considered too far out of town in those days for me to be sent from there, so I lived with my aunt, Mrs. Rose, and "Aunt Rachel," as Miss Rose was called, took me to and from school each day. I remember the school-mistress perfectly, and that, with other children, I used to be put to sleep every afternoon in one of the old pews. On the northern corner of Main and Central streets, there was a white wooden house, but of this I can only repeat what I have been told, at one time the home of Hon. Francis Blake, one of the most eminent lawyers in Massachusetts, and considered the handsomest man of his day. He married Miss Eliza Augusta Chandler, a granddaughter of "The Honest Refugee," as John Chandler was called, and lived here with his large family of children, among whom were the late Mrs. G. T. Rice, H. G. O. and Commodore George Blake. At a later date I recall Dr. and Mrs. Oliver H. Blood living here. The house is, I am told, still standing, having been moved down to Central street. The "Waldo Mansion" was the most imposing house on the eastern side of Main street, being a large, double house,* built of brick, and painted white, and stood quite near the street, an iron fence dividing the narrow strip of grass in front of the portico from the sidewalk. The occupants of this dwelling, as I recall them, were Daniel Waldo and his three maiden sisters, the Misses Betsey, Rebecca and Sally Waldo. There was another sister, Martha, who had married Hon. Levi Lincoln, the father of the late gentleman of that name, who had died in 1828. Their parents were Daniel Waldo and Rebecca Salisbury Waldo, the latter a sister of the first

* It was not a double house, but had a single, spacious front door on Main street.

Stephen of that name. Some people may recall Daniel Waldo, Jr., the carefully dressed, alert old gentleman with snow white hair, as he walked briskly down Main street of a morning on his way to his office in Waldo block. The Misses Waldo I used to see, as I passed the house, sitting at work by the windows of their southwest parlor, but I chiefly recall these dainty little ladies as I have met them of a summer's afternoon, walking down Main street, on their way to take tea with their aunt, Madam Salisbury. The three sisters walked side by side, all dressed exactly alike in dove colored silk dresses, and each wearing a calash over their caps. Does anyone in these days know what a calash is? It was an outdoor covering for the head, generally made of green silk, after the pattern of the hood of an old time bellows topped chaise, with a small cape behind, and kept in place while in use, by a bridle, so called, or piece of ribbon fastened on each side of the frame in front. The wearer held on to the bridle while it was in use, but when that was let go, the calash collapsed and folded up flat. They were universally worn by ladies who wore caps and turbans, when they went visiting in a social way, and were thereby saved the trouble of taking their head dresses with them to be put on at the house where they were bound. The last one of the Waldo ladies died, I believe, some time in the forties. The last person in Worcester to wear a turban was Mrs. Rose, though I have been told some of the young people adopted the fashion for evening parties, one lady having one made of India muslin, as delicate a fabric as a spider's web. A friend copied her example, put the same quantity of material into stiff book-muslin, and with this monstrosity on her head appeared at an evening gathering. Her husband after gazing at her spellbound for some time, crossed the room, and in the presence of those assembled, said, calling her by name: "—— you look like the devil."

Before 1840, or perhaps a little earlier, there were very

few private carriages in Worcester, and I can only recall three. Mr. Daniel Waldo and his nephew, Gov. Lincoln, and Madam Salisbury owned them, and the ladies of these families drove in them to church and to make visits to their friends. These carriages would not be considered handsome equipages now, but they were each drawn by a pair of horses, and were quite up to the standard of the day. A coachman in livery was unknown, and the driver was generally "the man of all work," and the horses could not always be spared for visiting, if there was hay waiting to be attended to or the man was needed for any especial exigency connected with household affairs. Many people had one horse vehicles, and the old-fashioned bellows top chaise was not entirely obsolete, while people who lived in the outskirts of the town came into the centre in their comfortable farm wagons with two seats. Writing of one horse carriages reminds me of a story connected with one. A lady from out of town had married a gentleman in Worcester, to be supposed for affection, but it was thought by outsiders, for other considerations, and one was a handsome, new carryall. She was calling at a house one day, with an aged relative of her husband's, and on leaving rushed out and entered the carriage, leaving her companion to get in as she could. The family on whom the call had been made commented on this breach of good manners, but the master of the house said, "She married the carriage, why shouldn't she get in first?" —emphasizing his remark by some words beginning with the letter "D," not commonly used in polite society.

Very near the corner of Main and Front streets were some low buildings, painted white, and from the front of one of them projected a barber's pole, indicating that one of that profession was in possession. Mr. John Weiss had served his apprenticeship with "Old Galoupe," as he was called, a famous barber in Boston in former days; this shop was frequented on Sunday mornings by the

gentlemen of that day to be shaved, and to hear the news. He had married his master's daughter, Miss Galoupe, and had moved to Worcester in 1829, to set up a business of his own. He had two sons—John, the eldest, became a noted Unitarian minister, though he will chiefly be remembered as a leader and exponent of the doctrines of "The Free Religious Association," whose members met on Sunday afternoons to voice their opinions, which did not always meet with the approbation of their more conservative brethren in Boston, and from whose pulpits they would not be allowed to promulgate them. I often attended these Sunday afternoon gatherings and enjoyed the brilliant discourses of John Weiss, though I could not agree with his teachings. He was also an author of some repute, having written a "Life of Theodore Parker."

The "United States Hotel" stood on the corner of Main and Front streets, the latter street being a rural thoroughfare, with few buildings on it, and they facing the common, a shady, grass-covered piece of ground, on which in those days there was no railway. Mr. and Mrs. Rejoice Newton occupied the first house, a large, double wooden building, with their son and daughter, and three nieces. In the middle of the street, which extended to a cross street beyond, the name of which I can't recall, was a small brick house painted white, and here lived Mrs. Rose. Why she had moved from School street, I have no means of knowing, and she could only have occupied this house for a short time, as she left it soon after Dr. Paine's death in 1833, for Salem, where she died in 1862. On the corner of Front street and the one running at right angles with it, there stood a large wooden house painted white, with a barn and outbuildings in the rear. Here lived Mr. and Mrs. Abijah Bigelow, with one son and four daughters, one of the old Worcester families, and one much honored and respected. The garden on the west side of the house extended nearly to Mrs. Rose's, a high wooden fence dividing it from the sidewalk. The son

was supposed to belong to that religious sect called "Millerites or Second Adventists." One seldom hears of these people now, but fifty or sixty years ago there was a large following of them in New England and many in the town and county of Worcester. Led on by false prophets these misguided people sold and disposed in various ways of all their belongings and dressed in their white robes idled away their time, watching for signs and portents and waiting patiently for the expected coming of the Lord to take them up to the heavens. When this craze came to an end, as it did in time, these poor folks found themselves ruined, and in middle life had to begin all over again to regain what they had lost by their foolishness. The ridgepole of a barn was a favorite place on which they perched, where dressed in their ascension robes they would remain for hours, waiting and watching for the opening of the heavens, and for the coming of the chariot which was to convey them upwards. After a little, they became discouraged and when a number of them had fallen from high places, and broken their legs they concluded to descend to terra firma, and go to work, and to no longer lead idle, foolish lives, but to wait until they were called, and to show by their works that they were fit to enter the heavenly kingdom. In connection with the Second Adventists I am reminded of an anecdote of Rev. Dr. Francis Parkman, whose house in Boston at one period stood where, from the rear, he overlooked the grounds of an establishment of these deluded people. One day a minister from the country came to visit his friend, and his attention being called to these white-robed men and women, as they disported themselves in the grounds, wandering about, with no end and aim, he remarked after gazing at them for some time, "Brother Parkman, I should say those people were fools." "I call them d—— fools," said the genial little doctor.

OLD WORCESTER. II.

The "old Nazro house," as it was called, stood on the southern corner of Main and Pleasant streets.

It was a large wooden house, painted a dark brown, and set far back from the street in the middle of a yard, a walk leading up to it from the sidewalk, on each side of which was a lawn. An immense elm tree stood in one corner of the yard, one of the many which added so much in former days to the beauty of Worcester streets.

As I remember the house, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Ward occupied it, with a family of children, the eldest being Miss Sarah Ward, who married the late Harrison Gray Otis Blake, the son of the Hon. Francis Blake. Mrs. Ward was the daughter of Major Charles Chandler, and granddaughter of "the Honest Refugee," John Chandler.

She inherited a large tract of land from her father's estate, reaching from Pleasant street to the present May street. On the northern corner of Pleasant street were the spacious grounds of Judge Nathaniel Paine, reaching a long way up Pleasant street, then a high hill. The house stood almost directly on the street, a common wooden one, painted white, there being nothing particularly attractive about it, either inside or out.

The pleasantest room in the house was a long, narrow one, entered from the front entry and running the whole width of the house, with a large glass window on the southern side, in which the sun lay all day long. This room was the living as well as the dining-room, and constantly occupied by the family, which consisted, as I recall it, of Judge Paine, his twin sons, Charles and Henry, and one daughter, Miss Sarah Paine.*

From this room, one entered the kitchen, and from there went out on to a broad, sunny piazza, close to which was

* Gardiner, another son of Judge Paine, was married and resided on Church street.

an old-time well, on the curb-stone of which in summer time there always stood a monthly rosebush, much treasured by the family, it having belonged to Mrs. Paine, who died in 1830.

Just on the corner of Pleasant street stood Judge Paine's law-office, where he married couples and attended to any legal matters in which he was interested.

I knew this house very well as a child, for I went to school in that part of the town, and my own home being too distant for me to go there at noon time, I always dined on week days with my great uncle. There was one most interesting ghost story connected with this house, and the most authentic one I ever heard of. Mr. Anthony Paine, a son of Judge Paine, who died in 1819, was lying very ill in his father's house and not expected to live from day to day.

One morning, quite early, Mr. John Bancroft, a son of Dr. Aaron Bancroft, and a most intimate friend of Mr. Paine's, saw the curtains at the foot of his bed drawn aside, and there stood his friend Anthony. Mr. Bancroft spoke to him, but he vanished at once.

So soon as the latter was dressed he hastened down stairs and reported to the family what he had seen, and a messenger was at once dispatched to Judge Paine's house, who quickly returned with the news that Mr. Paine had expired a short time previous to his being seen at Dr. Bancroft's.

Next to the Paine house on the north was a brick shop, in which dry goods were sold, and over it was Mr. Henry Paine's office, access to which was gained by a staircase on the outside of the building. This office was quite a resort of the young men of that day, who gathered there of an afternoon to hear and report the news of the day. Before my time, Mr. Samuel Ward had a shop on this spot, a wooden building, and I read in an old letter that he was always ready to take letters to and from Boston, to

bring samples of goods for the ladies of that day, and to do any errands to oblige them during his visits to the city.

Between Pearl and Elm streets stood a large, white, wooden house in the middle of a lawn, and not very far back from the street, all the surroundings being kept in the most perfect order and condition.

Here lived Mr. Calvin Willard, high sheriff of the county of Worcester. It is not many years since he passed away, so many people must recall him, but perhaps not when he was in office and as he appeared walking down Main street, preceding the judges on their way to court, dressed in his official costume of blue cloth coat with brass buttons, buff vest, high silk hat, with a cockade on the side of it, and holding a cane. Seemingly, the very embodiment of the majesty of the law.

It used to be said he once hung a man, and later kept the rope in the garret of his house, where in consequence no one dared go after dark.

Mr. Willard was very neat in his dress and person, precise in his conversation, a good man and much respected in the town, belonging to a past generation, where dignified and courteous manners prevailed more than they do at the present day. I believe the house was finally moved round into Pearl street, to make room for the present brick block now standing on its site.

I must ask my hearers now to stop for a few moments on the sidewalk in front of the "Lincoln House," while I read an extract from the memoirs of Dr. Pliny Earle.

He had, with his mother, Mrs. Patience Earle, come down from the Leicester hill to catch a sight, if he could, of "Lafayette," having heard he was to be in Worcester on such a date. He writes, "When I visited Worcester, where the Governor of Massachusetts then lived, I went to see Lafayette and shook hands with him in company with hundreds of others, as he stood in the gateway in front of the

residence of Gov. Levi Lincoln, a mansion afterward enlarged and converted into a hotel, "the Lincoln House."

The old "Maccarty house" stood just north of Governor Lincoln's, Maple street being the dividing line.

I have no recollection of the interior, but the house itself was a fine old colonial mansion, set high up on the hillside, the access to which was gained by steps and terraces from the street, and on the latter of which were planted shrubs and flowers.

In an old letter, dated 1822, I read that Mrs. Maccarty had recently died, and her husband felt her death extremely, for he said, "He never expected to find any one again who would put down his winter's pork to suit him as she had done."

Mr. Nathaniel Maccarty must have survived his wife many years, for I recall the auction held in the house after his death, when many handsome pieces of furniture were sold. The house was finally moved away, and I learn is still standing in the vicinity of its former location.

Brinley block was erected on the site of the Maccarty house, a fine building for its day.

The Citizens' Bank occupied the southwest end, while the remaining front space was occupied with shops. The second floor of the building was chiefly used for lawyers' offices, the sign-boards of the occupants covering a large part of the front of the building.

The main feature of the third story was Brinley Hall, a beautiful room and one admirably adapted for the purposes for which it was used.

I first recollect it when Mr. Weaver, the fashionable dancing master of his day, had his dancing classes here. The first ball I attended there was on the 4th of March, 1841, to celebrate the inauguration of President Harrison, the grandfather of one of the late presidents and occupants of the White House. This occasion was probably the last when the so-called old people of that day joined in the

dance, and I recall perfectly seeing the late F. W. Paine and Mrs. John Davis, Mr. S. M. Burnside and Mrs. Paine, Mr. G. F. Rice and his partner, and others too numerous to mention, in a contra-dance, and all footing it as bravely as any of the young people on the floor. In the lately published diary of Mr. C. C. Baldwin, I note that he says "Mr. Burnside preferred contra-dances to cotillions."

It would be an easier task to describe what did not take place in Brinley Hall than what did. The cattle-show balls, as well as military ones, were held here. Giants and dwarfs and dancing dogs were exhibited here. Political and temperance meetings, public dinners, private theatricals, fairs, social gatherings and lyceum lectures were held here.

Here Signor Blitz performed his wonderful feats. Here Russell, the noted singer of his day, who has recently died, sung to admiring audiences, and here R. W. Emerson lectured to the delight of those who heard and understood him. When the Church of the Second Parish was burned, the society worshiped there until the new house was built. The last time I was in the hall was to hear Lola Montez give an account of her experiences, now more than thirty years since.

I remember well when the "Citizens' Bank" was inaugurated, and the great sheets of bills my father used to bring home for his family to cut apart, and what a sensation it gave one of handling vast sums of money, though these bills in their unsigned state were perfectly worthless. This bank, on the corner of Main and Maple streets, was a capital place to see and note what was going on in Worcester, for everything and everybody were sure to pass there during some part of the day if they were out, and it used to be said that the frequenters of the bank appreciated this vantage ground, and that all the conversation of the gentlemen who occupied the chairs in the large window was not always confined to financial matters.

I never hear of the "Citizens' Bank" without being reminded of an amusing incident connected with it. One morning, when people on business arrived there, they were treated to an entertainment they had not counted upon, for upon entering they found the cashier of the bank, the late Mr. George A. Trumbull, and the late F. W. Paine, each armed with a long-handled broom, trying to separate two dogs engaged in mortal combat, an end only achieved when the contents of Mr. Paine's snuff-box were thrown into their faces, and then the aggressor was ejected from the bank. The floor was swept up, and the two chief actors in the affair had retired, one to his armchair in the window, and the other behind the counter, and then the business of the bank began.

The story was that "Jack Paine," as he was called on the street, a Scotch terrier belonging to Mr. Paine, had arrived with his master, as was his usual custom every morning at the bank, and being very weary after his long walk and having had several lively encounters with friends on his way up town, had retired to his own private corner to take his first nap of the morning, for he was accustomed to take many in the course of the day, as he waited the pleasure of his master in different banks and insurance offices; when an outsider, an old enemy of his, having seen him enter, watched his opportunity, got into the bank and attacked him just as he was dropping off to sleep, and thus the fight. Those who remember Mr. Trumbull and his racy mode of speech, when occasion offered, can readily understand what an amusing story he made of this affair, as he described the prowess of Mr. Paine and himself with the broomsticks, in this battle royal of the dogs in the old Citizens' Bank.

I have referred to the bank window as being an excellent place from which to view all that was going on in the street. One day one of the frequenters of the bank saw, or thought he saw, his daughter pass the window practis-

ing what was called the "Grecian bend," an ungainly style of walk practised by the young people of that day. He walked home at noontime brimming over with wrath, and demanded that the culprit should appear before him. "I was mortified," he said, "to have my friends in the bank see you making such an exhibit of yourself as you did when you passed this morning, and I tell you I won't have it." "But, father, I have not been out of the house this morning, and have not been near the bank." "I don't care if you have been out or not, that is the way you would have looked if you had been by it, and I tell you I won't have it."

This last argument being unanswerable, the young lady retired, and when she wished to practise the "Grecian bend," in the future, she took good care to walk in a direction where the parental eye would not follow her.

The cashier and all the old frequenters of the Citizens' Bank have long since passed away, and while we hold them in respectful remembrance we may feel sure their feelings would not be hurt, if we recalled any amusing incident connected with their lives while they were with us.

359th Meeting.

Tuesday evening, May 7th, 1901.

Met in Salisbury Hall.

President Crane in the chair.

Others present: Messrs. Arnold, Abbot, W. H. Bartlett, C. C. Baldwin, Dickinson, Davidson, Darling, C. B. Eaton, Ely, Fowler, H. C. Fish, Geer, C. G. Harrington, Daniel Kent, M. A. Maynard, Geo. Maynard, Jerome Marble, H. G. Otis, Nathaniel Paine, Roe, G. M. Rice, Raymenton, Stiles, C. E. Staples, Gen. A. B. R. Sprague, Silvester, Corwin M. Thayer, Williamson, Mrs. E. J. Barrett, Mrs. Chenoweth, Miss Cogswell, Mrs. Darling, Mrs. Fowler, Miss Hay, Mrs. Daniel Kent, Miss May, Mrs. Gen. A. B. R. Sprague, Mrs. A. E. Smith, Mrs. Franklin Wyman, Miss Agnes Waite, and a large number of visitors.

Librarian reported additions for past month: 243 bound volumes, 328 pamphlets, 175 papers and 28 miscellaneous articles.

The President stated that progress had been made by the Executive Committee in preparing the contemplated changes in the By-Laws of the Society, but would ask further time for conference before making a final report.

On report of the Standing Committee on Nominations, Marvin M. Taylor, Esq., was elected an active member of the Society.

The President called attention to the approaching season for the Society's Annual Field Day,

stating that it might come on the twentieth anniversary of the Society's visit to Oxford, Mass., and as but very few of the present members were connected with this body at that time it might be advisable to make a second visit to that historic town. On motion of A. S. Roe, a committee was appointed to investigate the subject and report at the next meeting. The committee appointed was M. A. Maynard, F. E. Williamson, C. F. Darling and George Maynard.

Hon. Alfred S. Roe was then introduced and read his paper entitled "My Flower Garden."

MY FLOWER GARDEN.

By Alfred S. Roe.

It is more extensive even than John Wesley's parish, which he pronounced to be the world, for my garden includes the world of history and sentiment as well as that apparent to our senses, though its immediate confines may be those of Worcester and, in a restricted meaning, that portion of the city familiarized by daily walks. In the Henry George theory, we are taught that to free fire, air, and water, should be added land, and to me, a sentimental free-booter, what the land produces is equally gratis, provided in my enjoyment I do not lessen that of the nominal owner, nor that of hundreds of others, who, like myself, look, partake of the fragrance, and pass on.

To him who hath all his faculties, Nature is an open book, filled with many pages which delight every pathway to the brain, though we are told that Helen Kellar, Elizabeth Robbins, and others similarly afflicted, find in their single avenue of smell the most exquisite enjoyment.

This by way of explanation, for already I fancy some of my acquaintances have been saying, "I didn't know that he had a garden of any kind, much less one for flowers." In this great and free country, few people have as yet reached that pitch of English exclusiveness wherein they build high walls to conceal as well as guard their floral treasures. I will not deny that such precaution, even in Worcester, would at times be salutary, as when our pansies, less than a week planted, were carried away on a Memorial Day by some admirer of the beautiful who had not, we will assume, the requisite silver to secure from Mr. Keyes, our hot-house neighbor, that which he coveted, and which the same Mr. K. was glad to sell. The purloiner reckoned wisely on the spirit which pervaded the home back of the small posy-bed, on that May 30th, and so

gathered in his decorations with impunity, for there was no one in the house to say him nay.

Still the loss of many pansies would not prompt the average American to hem himself around with walls. "No pent-up Utica" for him. He plants, and waters, and takes his chances for fruit and harvest, so in my rambles I have had unobstructed views of all that might delight the senses.

However, like charity, let us begin at home and enumerate just what that small plot of earth known as our door-yard affords. Salem Copeland, of floral as well as fragrant memory, must have planted, and H. G. O. Blake, of equally pleasant recollections, have cared for the Persian lilac, standing at the corner of the house, whose expanding proclivities have filled nearly all the space between fence and building, so that when Winter lays his icy hand upon it, the glass-encased branches bow over the walk, to the discomfiture of pedestrians and our possible summoning before the Central District Court, which knows no sentiment in its efforts to keep the sidewalks clear, but the lovely, lavender-hued, perfumed blossoms come as gentle successors to the delightful arbutus, and are just in time to help out scant supplies on Memorial Day. There is an old-fashioned lilac in the back part of the yard; indeed, it touches the barn of one neighbor and encroachingly nods over the fence of another. Like the Hydra of mythology, it thrives upon seeming destruction, for from it have been torn countless branches; children have carried them away by the armful, but the bush lives on, larger and more vigorous, year by year.

The very earliest cherry-blossoms in Worcester crown the head of an aged tree, also owed to the labor of Salem Copeland. Nearly fifty years have come and gone since it began its useful career, and though it is now bereft of much which formerly contributed to its symmetry, though blackened stumps indicate fallen but once fruitful limbs,

it still rears its crest above the roof of the protecting house, and each recurring season provokes the presence of busy bees with its whitened beauty and promise.

With vivid memories of what had been, early effort was made to renew, in our limited area, the successes of other places. What pains were taken to string the morning-glories which were to gladden the sunrise side of the cottage. Good, old-fashioned sunflowers were planted and fostered, with the hope that in their celestial splendor they would follow the King of Day as far as surroundings would permit, for we knew that Tom Moore had written:

> "As the sunflower turns on her God when he sets,
> The same look which she turned when he rose."

Boxes, earth filled, were placed along the eastern fence for the accommodation of nasturtiums. For a few brief seasons, reasonable success attended our efforts, when a "strait 'twixt two" arose. Flowers will not flourish without the sun, and our sunlight was being gradually eclipsed by the giant limbs of our great apple-tree. Which should we have, tree or flowers? Somewhat modest in dimensions, when the Centennial year was here, profiting by favorable environment, it threw out its branches, till they over-shadowed the pear-trees, trespassed upon the lane, leading to rear houses and barns, and, notwithstanding successive amputations, its arms reached beyond the cottage and interlocked with those of the aged cherry-tree. In behalf of the tree, as against the flowers, was the shade it afforded the hammock in the long days of June and July, and an extensive branch supported a swing, source of boundless joy to certain blossoms, hardly included in any botanical list, and, besides, what a gorgeous display the tree itself made in alternate years, a time when the lads of the neighborhood carried away bushels of beauty, wholly indifferent to the possible fruit thus destroyed, a time when, in the words of Elaine Goodale,

"The clustered bloom, with faint perfume,
Wreathes many a garland fine,
And many a rosy nodding plume,
In apple-blossom time."

Nor was our conclusion to spare the tree ever regretted, for though sunflowers and morning-glories hid their diminished heads, those other flowers of our own and our neighbors' households throve amain. To lad and lass it became a source of health and strength, more efficient, as Dr. E. M. Hartwell, director of physical training in Boston public schools, once declared before a Legislative committee, than the most elaborately equipped gymnasium. The snows of winter were scarcely off the ground ere the animated plants of the vicinity began their search for the best seats that the tree afforded, in time to have regular designations, and in the agility displayed these children even suggested certain arboreal ancestry on which Matthew Arnold was wont to dilate. Umbrageous foliage only rendered the pleasures of the tree all the more grateful, and when the period of the sear and the yellow leaf had denuded it of the last trace of vernal life, the early snows found the children still enjoying every branch, and laying up rich stores of health for the ever-increasing exactions of school life. Some of these apple-blossoms, so pure and beautiful on limb sustained, budded in city schools to become, in college, the fair fruit of the tree's health-giving power.

Here would my story end were I not privileged to roam at will through any part of our good city and its neighboring fields, and if, by any chance, my own feet should fail me, I could summon those of Arba Pierce, which would with invariable precision lead to the haunt, however hidden, of every floral treasure that the vicinity possesses. To see him entering the city with a basket of early arbutus and other choice findings, is to realize in part what must have been the appearance of Roman conquerors when

they returned laurel crowned and captive followed, but this day I shall allow Arba to rest while I again, as of yore, take my early departure for school.

Many a day have I watched for the very first glimpse of green at the left of the entrance to the Russell house, corner of Harvard and John streets. In twenty-five years I have sometimes seen the early appearances, snow-covered, but not in the least discouraged. In Februray, March, and occasionally not till April, have my glances been rewarded. Nestled close to the cellar-wall, behind which I am told is the house's heat-supplying source, the delicate crocus here awakens first from its winter's sleep. Who first placed the fromes in this favored spot I know not, but in the years of my daily passing, I have seen father and mother borne to their final homes, schoolboys have themselves passed into the activities of life, the family scattered, other people abide, but the crocus blooms on, just as sweet, beautiful and inspiring as when long ago its lovely presence first peeped above the ground. As I have admired its color and thankfully welcomed its coming, the words of Hannah T. Gould, Lancaster born, first read in my boyhood's reading-book, occur to me. She named them—

"THE CROCUS'S SOLILOQUY."

"Down in my solitude under the snow
Where nothing cheering can reach me;
Here, without light to see how to grow,
I'll trust to Nature to teach me.

"Soon as the frost shall get out of my bed,
From this cold dungeon to free me,
Up will I peer with my little bright head;
All will be joyful to see me.

"Then from my heart will bright petals diverge,
As rays of the sun from their focus;
I, from the darkness of earth will emerge,
A happy and beautiful crocus.

"Gayly arrayed in my yellow and green,
When to their view I have risen,
Will they not wonder how one so serene,
Came from so dismal a prison?"

In the Gazette of March 18th, 1889, there appeared a brief item, worded thus:

"On March 4th, I will not say in honor of Pres. Harrison's inauguration, but on that day the yellow tips of the crocus made themselves seen at the Russell home, corner of Harvard and John streets. Being one of those unfortunates who have no flowers of my own, I can take all the more notice of my neighbor's, and every spring I am eager to note the earliest showing of these lovely harbingers of spring. Their location here is especially sheltered, and I think none in this part of the city appear sooner.

"In a week or ten days that most charming display on Pearl street will be worth going out of one's way to see. With what pride and pleasure did the late genial Samuel Woodward greet any one who stopped to admire his unrivaled bed of crocuses! They cost him a deal of money, first and last, but he never begrudged it. Of course May and June bring more showy displays, but no one wonders at flowers then. These little tubes thrusting themselves upward, sometimes through the snow, excite our admiration and love, for they are as 'the first fruits of them that slept.' They mark the breaking of winter's bands and the return of joyous life.

"To the Pearl street splendor, however, there will be something lacking this season. The eye of the master, at least as we know him, will not greet the return of his first flowers as of old, but we who daily pass them, and whose hearts are gladdened by them, may think of the kindly face and the cheery voice of him who so often descanted on their beauty, and hope that from the winter of his life his glad spirit, crocus-like, is blooming in regions of eternal spring."

Two days later appeared in the same paper a brief rejoinder from the pen of a former schoolboy of the writer whose knowledge of Worcester's birds and flowers was

remarkable and whose untimely death caused so many of us to mourn, the late Harry L. Nelson. He, too, had kept an eye on the Russell flowers, and thus was warranted in saying, "The little article on the crocus printed in Monday's paper attracted wide attention." * * * * Then are quoted the words as to the inauguration of President Harrison, followed by these lines: "Another crocus-lover was much disturbed at this, and in speaking of it to-day said, 'That is outrageous! Crocuses were in bloom on March 2d, and I am inclined to think that Mr. Roe knew it. The trouble with him is that he is such an out-and-out Republican that he was unwilling to give them the credit of coming out before the Republican administration went in.' Yesterday the Gazette called attention to the hints, inspired by excessive partisanship, to Postmaster Estabrook for his resignation, but it had no idea that this strong party prejudice extended into the vegetable kingdom."

My attention is next called to the magnolia behind the lilac-hedge of the Tiffany house as I neared the alley, long leading to the High School. What a stack of flowers, weeks before a trace of green has made its appearance upon any of the surroundings, and at noon, if on my return I cast my eye to the eastward just before turning into Dix street, I may see a similar vision of loveliness at the southeast corner of W. H. Goulding's house; and in this immediate connection, permit me to express my own gratitude to Mr. G. for the pleasure which his gardens have given to the thousands who travel Harvard street. When some citizens have covered with buildings every available inch of what should be breathing-space, entirely wiping out their own children's playground, thus turning the latter into the streets, constructing unsightly tenements where flowers and fruit should grow, sacrificing every nobler feeling upon the altar of greed, in these days it is something to find a gentleman, wholly deaf to golden tempta-

tion, who prefers the bloom of flowers and the fruitage of trees to any edifice that the art of man can rear.

When, several years since, the double house, long a landmark at the corner of Dix and Harvard streets, was compelled to give place to a more stately mansion of brick, the earlier structure was faced to the north and given a place in the rear. To make it firm and accessible, the bank was incised to the depth of five or six feet and a strong sustaining wall of masonry was reared. The space thus inclosed between house and wall could not exceed a few hundred feet. Had the occupants of the house been less ingenious, the opportunity thus afforded would have been seized only at the most for weekly laundry displays. By the flower-loving dwellers, however, the wall and the earth were made to bud and blossom as the rose. In this city of ours, are establishments where the annual outlay of hundreds of dollars does not secure such satisfactory returns as for more than a decade of years followed the efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Luther M. Lovell to adorn and beautify their home. Mr. L. had for this diversion only the time remaining from the exacting hours in a bank, but where there is a will there is a way. Joined to genuine love of flowers is remarkable taste in color and variety, till I have sometimes thought, could the whole display be moved into Horticultural Hall (and it could go in easily so far as size is concerned, four times at least), I am sure it would take the highest prize where life, vigor and harmony were considered. Many a trip to near-by woods and swamps had brought ferns of various kinds, and there, close to the wall, peeps out a blood-root blossom, a sure forerunner of spring's approach. A Japanese ivy of remarkable thriftiness bids fair to cover the entire face of the wall. At the latter's base flourish the transplanted wild flowers, while on its top are long ranges of boxes wherein flourish the finest of geraniums. Around the bow window are placed pot and box covered benches, while

on the porch and by its side are scores of begonias and the very king of fuchsias. A wire trellis not only supports a lovely honeysuckle, but with its leafy burden furnishes shade in sultry forenoon hours.

In Thackeray's masterpiece, "Vanity Fair," no scene has left a more vivid impression than that of "Venus preparing the armor of Mars." It is that of Mrs. Dobbin burnishing up the uniform of her Major, just before the Battle of Waterloo. Worcester, also, has an equally well-assorted pair, though in this case the order is reversed, since here our Harrington avenue Major, whose chosen forte is pomology, cheerfully yields to the claims of floriculture, and, as he obeys the behest of his Venus, gallantly prepares beds for the growth of old-fashioned flowers. Poppies, marigolds, larkspurs, mignonette, forget-me-nots, tulips and dahlias, with all sorts of time-honored roses, attest their devotion to "ye days of olde."

For many a year, ere the post-office took its long journey southward, it was my pleasure to reach the High School building via Harvard, Chestnut, Pearl, etc. *En route*, I should have been blind if I had not seen some of the beauties that the walk afforded. Somewhere else in our latitude the pendant wistaria may attain the royal luxuriance of the display on the south side of Jerome Marble's Harvard street house; but if so I never saw it. The plant in thrift and size begins to rival the famous grape-vine of Santa Barbara, and soon the genial owner will have to decide between the claims of house and flower. Had I chosen to make a short detour, in their season, I could find at Mr. George E. Merrill's home, 14 Bowdoin street, the very finest bed of lilies-of-the-valley to be found in this part of Worcester, and if I will stop at No. 7 Harvard, Mrs. James G. Arnold will cheerfully give me all the violets that I have time to pick. The ground is blue with them, and when autumn returns, where shall I find another snowball bush like that which just overhangs the fence of Neigh-

bor Smith? As it is, however, in their season, I shall expect from General Sprague, as I pass his castellated home, a rose or two from the range of bushes which lines his southern fence, and until Dr. J. K. Warren interposed his home and shrubs, I could look across to as fine a display of peonies as could be found anywhere. Right here is a good place to remark that in the changes of time and place, pronunciation has not escaped. The gaudy flower just named, as children, some of us called "piney"; the gladiōlus of childhood is now "gladīolus," and the fuchsia has become a "fooksia."

The lives of some people are a constant benediction, and from the vernal exhibition of tulips to the autumnal exit of zinnias, I never pass the open lot on the east side of Chestnut street without invoking a blessing on the sisters who have so long maintained, in this costly place, a source of pleasure for which passing Worcester can not be too grateful. They were the "Misses" Burnside, till one was called to the higher life; now the survivor retains the same round of floral and verdant loveliness. What a succession of flowers in the central beds, and then, beyond the kitchen garden, stands the rank of hollyhocks, almost the only tribute to our grandfathers' days that this part of the city affords. How we follow the ascending blossom till the tip is reached, and finis apparently is written. Back of them, like guards on duty, are the equally old-fashioned sunflowers, just a touch of the old under the very shadow of the State Mutual building, with its 140 feet of height, symbolizing the new.

For many a day our city has possessed no prettier spot than that acreage which we call Elm Park. Happy were the afternoons, when accompanied by childish prattle, a trip was permitted along its flower-bordered paths. In its multiform trees and plants, to this day we see reflected the genius of its projector and director, Edward Winslow Lincoln. Nowhere else in Worcester do flowers bloom

more brilliantly, whether they are phlox, gladioli or stacks of rhododendron glory—everywhere honor is paid to the hand of the master. Though years separate us from his living presence, his spirit yet permeates if it does not dominate the place he loved.

The flowers of long ago, how closely they are associated with the hopes, aspirations and expectations which then filled our hearts and minds. Did we like to water grandma's dahlias, which were as the apple of her eye? How she expatiated on their beauty, and how diligently she cared for them throughout the season; then there were the overturned wooden tubs which contained her calla lilies, the pride of the cozy sitting-room in the winter; the oleander, whose portable lodgment we annually toted in and out, refulgent and fragrant, yet to boyish tastes hardly up to the value of a big harvest apple.

And the daisies which bespangled the hillsides! How our boyish backs ached as we pulled them up through the long summer hours. One day thus devoted, O me miserable! was the Fourth of July. Cultivated under glass in less favored portions of the earth, this had become a nuisance in our part of the world, and man and boy as they bent to the task of destruction muttered imprecations on the head of old Granny S—, who, that she might have something to remind her of her early Connecticut home, had, it was said, taken daisy seed with her to the fertile but wholly unsettled Genesee country. Though the dear old lady was our maternal great grandmother, I fear our maledictions were as deep and earnest as any. Then that tansy bed! Just what did the good lady want of that? Or was it a suggestion of her husband, the pious deacon, who may not have been unknowing to the happy combination possible, when a sprig of tansy is gently intermingled with a certain nameless New England decoction and did they locate their early log habitation by a spring, mint-surrounded, through julep memories? At any rate, both mint

and tansy, the latter as deathless as its Greek origin indicates, still flourish, perpetual reminders of the homes of nearly a century ago. The "live-forever," from the same Connecticut source, is quite as enduring as its tansy neighbor, and far more dispersive, while sweet clover and "pennyroyal" are more gratefully remembered.

There, too, are the primroses, still spasmodically blooming at early eve, just as they have done for nearly half a century, and mother still cares for them against the coming of her gray-headed boys, for they do so love to see the gorgeous yellow blossoms unfold. Were there ever such hollyhocks as mother cultivates? For years the garden path has had its single and double clusters, white, red, and black, of the most honest flower that grows, and we can see and hear the bees, as they creep in and out, seeking for sweets unknown to us, and then, honey-laden, we see them drone sluggishly away. Go where we might along the familiar streets of boyhood, the peony was always found, glorious to the sight, though of repellant odor.

Though it was never ours to see a field of Bermuda lilies, said to be the very acme of floral beauty, there linger in memory distinct impressions of New York fields of buckwheat in full bloom, as white as the lilies and with a fragrance peculiarly its own, attracting millions of industrious bees, whose merry hum fills the air and whose saccharine product shall mingle in coming months with the wheat itself, making a combination which goes far towards answering Mulford's pessimistic query as to whether life is worth living.

In college days, was there a home-letter that did not specify the number of buds on the monthly rose? The sisterly hand that penned the words has long been lying pulseless across the coffined breast, but the happy spirit, disenthralled, looks upon scenes—

> "Where everlasting Spring abides,
> And ever blooming flowers."

"Don't forget to water the plants," we heard the injunction in boyhood, and in manhood. Am I alone in recollections of numberless omissions: of maternal and conjugal chidings for remissness, or in warnings of awakened conscience when long droughts were drowned in copious irrigation just before the family return? We took particular delight in the results of mother's care, and a deal of pride in exhibiting the same to callers, but what excuses were there when our time and strength were solicited for the heavier work of preparation. I think of a Massachusetts home whose living-room, with eastern and southern exposure, for more than thirty years has had its scores of foliaged and blossoming plants throughout the winter. Thence have gone flowers to adorn the pulpit and to lie on coffin lid. In all these years they have had the almost exclusive care of "Mother's" hands; she has washed, watered, watched and trimmed, carried out and brought back, and is always sufficiently rewarded in the glad sight afforded, and in the thanks her floral offerings have induced.

Only a few moons ago, we saw a Worcester church edifice filled with those who had respected and loved the man whose body was on its way to the final "resting-place," and these words were used advisedly, for it was when aweary with the journey of life and the ever onward prompting which directed his feet Holdenward, through all the long hours of that day and night, that Worcester's ex-Treasurer, the careful guardian of her financial interests, lay his body down to rest and his spirit took its flight to God who gave it; but in those hours of wandering his tired hands, true to the life-long spirit of their possessor, had plucked a bunch of wild flowers, and these, faded and withered, alone lay on his coffin lid. No other expression is needed, but may I be pardoned if in this way I pay my tribute, in which I am sure all of you will join, to the memory of William Sumner Barton.

And here is a sprig of rosemary for that comrade, Wil-

liam H. Willard, who allowed few meetings of Post 10 to pass without some floral testimony of his loyalty and devotion placed upon the Commander's station. Scarce a year has passed since he entered within the vail, but the time seems long to those who appreciated his love of the beautiful, all of whom most devoutly hope that their comrade's heaven is not wanting in those expressions of loveliness which attracted him on earth.

Very likely our pleasures in nature are intensified through the pall which, for a large portion of the year, in our latitudes, hangs over our fields and gardens.

"The melancholy days have come, the saddest of the year,
Of wailing winds and naked woods and meadows brown and sere."

"The South wind searches for the flowers, whose fragrance late he bore,
And sighs to find them in the wood, and by the stream no more."

Thus sang Bryant on whose brow long rested nature's laureate wreath. From those seemingly inspired words with which Thanatopsis opens, till in the Flood of Years the book is sealed, he is the out-of-doors hymnist. It was almost a hundred years ago that he wrote,

"To him who, in the love of Nature, holds
Communion with her visible forms, she speaks
A various language."

And the snows of winter lay heavy on his head when he saw

"A mighty hand from an exhaustless urn,
Pour forth a never ending flood of years
Among the nations."

But in the intervening spring, summer and autumn, what did he not see of joy and gladness in the phases of nature's life? With the flowers of yesterday and those, amber-like, perpetually preserved in poetic thought, who had more to do than Bryant? Were I in Cummington I should certainly seek out the places in the poet's mind as he wrote,

"When beechen buds begin to swell,
And woods the blue-bird's warble know,
The yellow violet's modest bell
Peeps from the last year's leaves below.

Of all her train the hands of Spring
First plant thee in the watery mould,
And I have seen thee blossoming
Beside the snow-bank's edges cold."

Few of us come upon them without thinking that Bryant immortalized them, and wishing that we, too, had the power of poetic expression, that other favorites might also be exalted. Who would not like to know just where in the Empire State the poet found the flowers which prompted him to write,

"TO THE FRINGED GENTIAN."

"Thou blossom bright with autumn dew,
And covered with heaven's own blue,
That openest when the quiet light
Succeeds the keen and frosty night."

After all it seems more probable that the lines were prompted by Berkshire and Hampshire memories, than by anything that New York afforded. Few searchers for the lovely autumnal bloom forget that, Bryant also, must have sought the fields on just the same errand, and, possibly, returned at times quite as fruitless. Old and young alike delight in the diversion, and the picture is yet vivid of a noted Worcester county politician and business man, with his children, like Gulliver among the Lilliputians, on a Sunday morning, having a ten-acre hillside lot to themselves as they looked for flowers, he forgetting stocks and bonds, politics and all its besetments, intent only on gentians.

All writers, some more, some less, have introduced their floral favorites. There was a time, before the vaudeville

deterioration of the theatre, when audiences grew tearful as distracted Ophelia scattered her apron full of flowers, saying,

"There's rosemary, that's for remembrance; pray you, love, remember; and there is pansies, that's for thoughts."

And again—

"There's fennel for you and columbines; there's rue for you; and here's some for me; we may call it herb of grace o' Sundays; O, you must wear your rue with a difference. There's a daisy; I would give you some violets, but they withered all when my father died."

Who would visit Anne Hathaway's cottage and not bear away some reminder of that sacred spot? It was a Michaelmas daisy that the dear old lady keeper, herself a Hathaway, placed in my hand, and is pressed as a precious keepsake of the thatched cottage at Shottery. Burns' tribute to a daisy has caused many a search along the Braes o' Doon to find just one "modest crimson-tipped flower." "Ye canna find one noo, its o're late," was said to me when late in October I looked from above the key-stone of its Auld Brig. At least I could search, and ere I had done, a good half dozen of the loveliest of flowers were found to delight as many recipients on this side the Atlantic.

Among the treasured reminders are bluebells from Dryburg, and where could they grow prettier than on Tweedside, close by the grave of Scott? They seem to almost write themselves into the music that has inspired Scotchmen from Bannockburn to Magersfontein.

Here's a dandelion which grew on the field of Waterloo, in soil which drank in the mingled life-blood of Briton and Frenchman, just as yellow as though no touch of crimson had ever stained its source; and this spray of edelweis from the Tyrolean Alps! We do not forget that Auerbach named his masterpiece from it, and we wonder if lover e'er endangered his life that he might pluck it, cliff protected, for his sweetheart's keeping.

Could we identify that Perthshire village and there place Whinnie Knowe, beyond a doubt, who would not cherish just one blossom from its "Bonnie Briar Bush" in memory of Geordie and Marget Howe?

Nor is our own land wanting, for he was a "boy in blue" who roamed through the gardens in Arlington, on old Potomac's shore and, in the sweet williams gathered there, fancied he could trace, through Lee and Custis, a clear line to Washington, and so must have thought the sister to whom they were sent, and how she treasured them, appeared, long years afterwards, when her letters received in war times were found. Years later, it was a trefoil, a little Irish shamrock, that was taken from Sheridan's grave in that same preserve.

A wild aster from Gettysburg reminds us of what heroes suffered there, and a creeping plant from Chickamauga recalls the day when Thomas said he would hold the position or go to heaven from it. There are many more, but let us stop with this bit of arbor vitae from the hedge about Whittier's grave. The snows were deep through which we walked to secure it, but all the more we think of "Snow Bound" and the scenes that suggested the poem. Flowers, beautiful, unstained bits of radiance, have inspired men to deeds of valor that must ever prompt the poet's pen.

> "Now by the lips of those ye love, fair gentlemen of France,
> Charge for the golden lilies, upon them with the lance;"

and in a bunch of innocent violets, hero worshiping France saw the profiles of her banished Bonapartes.

"Red as a Rose is She," is the title of a widely read English story, but in days of old, all England alternately blanched and blushed in her terrible War of the Roses, when as Dickens writes, "Many a wild flower formed by the Almighty Hand to be a permanent goblet for the dew, felt its enameled cup filled high with blood, and, shrinking, drooped," * * * For a long time no village girl would

dress her hair or bosom with the sweetest flowers from the field of death; and after many years had come and gone, the berries growing there were still believed to leave too deep a stain upon the hand that plucked them."

At Neerwinden the French were beaten, and even the Household troops had halted, so terrible was the fire, when Sarsfield snatched from his casque the trefoil, ever present there, and turning to his Irish followers cried,

"My sprig of Irish Shamrock
Shall lead the lilies gay,
And pass the first in battle burst,
When the bugle rang away."

The ranks of the allies could not withstand the shock, and were slowly retiring when the exiles paused to carry off their dead and wounded, but once more the dauntless Sarsfield blazed in their faces with,

"Lament your dead to-morrow,
Avenge their fall to-day;
And face with me the musketry
The Shamrock leads the way."

Thus inspired, the result of that battle would have satisfied the veriest Boer sympathizer of to-day. Says Macaulay of this terrible fray, "The next summer the soil, fertilized by 20,000 corpses, broke forth into millions of poppies. The traveler who, on the road from St. Tron to Tirlemont, saw that vast sheet of rich scarlet spreading from Landon to Neerwinden, could hardly help fancying that the figurative prediction of the Hebrew prophet was literally accomplished, that the earth was disclosing her blood and refusing to cover the slain."

And when the battle of life is over, when the clods of earth cover all that is mortal of this poor being, man, we lay upon his grave the choicest tribute that it is ours to give, namely, a wreath of flowers. Not only on Memorial Day, when a nation repairs to burial grounds unnumbered to dress the sod above hallowed mould, but everywhere, in

all the seasons, from summer's heat to the ice of winter, we find means to lay above the remains of our loved ones the heart's true symbol of love and cherished memory—our loveliest flowers.

Nor should we close here. "Resurgam" is written deep throughout the books of nature, and, annually, we see the period of grief and mourning followed by the glad song, "He hath risen." Then, indeed, come the loveliest of tokens, for with Easter lilies we welcome the day which commemorates the rolling away of the stone and the promise of a glorious resurrection.

At the conclusion of Mr. Roe's reading, announcement was made that Mr. F. L. Hutchins would, at the next regular meeting, read a paper prepared by Hon. George Sheldon of Deerfield, entitled "Wheeler's Surprise—'Cul-de-Sac.'"

The Secretary read a communication from the Historical and Natural History Society of South Natick, Mass., extending an invitation to the 250th anniversary of the coming of Rev. John Eliot and his band of Praying Indians, which was to be observed July 4th next.

On motion of Wm. H. Bartlett, a vote of thanks was extended Mr. Roe for his exceedingly interesting paper.

The meeting was then adjourned.

360th Meeting.

Tuesday evening, June 4th, 1901.

President Crane in the chair.

There was a large attendance, about eighty members and their friends being present.

The Committee on the Annual Excursion reported they had visited Oxford, Mass., and would recommend that that place be left for a trip to be made later, and that the usual June Excursion for this year be made to the town of Marblehead.

General A. B. R. Sprague being present by invitation to exhibit the Barbara Frietchie flag and relate the story of its history as given by Conrad Reno of Boston, eldest son of General Jesse Lee Reno, on motion of Mr. Williamson it was voted that when this meeting adjourn it be for one week, and that all business matters requiring action of the Society be postponed to the adjourned meeting, in order to allow more time for the audience present to listen to General Sprague and Mr. F. L. Hutchins.

The Barbara Frietchie flag, about eight feet in length by four feet in width, was suspended at the rear of the President's chair in full view of the audience. It was made of rather coarse material and apparently of home manufacture, and contained holes that might have been made by rebel bullets, otherwise the flag was in good state of preservation.

On being introduced, General Sprague referred to the trying times at the outbreak of the Civil War; how difficult it was for the people of Massachusetts

to conceive of the exact state of society as it then existed along the border line between the North and the South, so called, where friends and even families were divided upon the questions at issue, and it was at great sacrifice that many people remained loyal to the Union. He then repeated the story of the flag as read by Conrad Reno at Boston, May 2, 1900, before the Massachusetts Commandery of the Loyal Legion of the United States.

General Jesse Lee Reno was a friend and classmate of "Stonewall" Jackson at West Point Military Academy. They were born not far from each other in West Virginia, but were arrayed on opposite sides in the great war. This flag is said to have been presented to General Reno by Barbara Frietchie in person, and on the following morning about six o'clock General Reno was killed. Colonel Reno, a brother of the General, secured this flag with other effects of the deceased, and forwarded them to the widow, and it has not been out of the possession of the family since that time, except on two occasions, when it was lent to intimate friends of the family. One of those occasions was its visit to Worcester at this time. This flag was too large to wave from a window, but was displayed from Mrs. Quintrell's house when General Jackson marched through Frederick City, Md. It is said Mrs. Quintrell waved a small silk flag before the Confederates as they marched through the town, but that portion of Whittier's poem relative to the waving of her flag must be attributed to his poetic

license or fancy. Mr. Reno submits the following record: Barbara Haner was born at Lancaster, Penn., December 3, 1766, daughter of Niclaus Haner, who left Germany, May 11, 1754, and came to this country. She was married May 6, 1806, to John Casper Frietchie, at Frederick City, Md., by Rev. Mr. Wagner of the German Reformed Church. She lived there until her death, December 18, 1862. Her husband, a well-known glove manufacturer, died November 10, 1849.

At the close of the meeting nearly every one in the hall availed themselves of a careful examination of this famous flag, and more or less comments were made on the exceedingly interesting story as recorded by Mr. Reno. Both General Sprague and also Major Wm. T. Harlow, who was present, served under General Reno in the Civil War and knew him intimately.

Following General Sprague, Mr. F. L. Hutchins was called upon and read the following paper, entitled "Wheeler's Surprise—Cul-de-Sac," written by Hon. George Sheldon of Deerfield, Mass.

WHEELER'S SURPRISE—THE CUL-DE-SAC.

To the Society of Antiquity:

It seems proper to explain why this letter is sent to your Society instead of to Gov. Chamberlain, to whom it is written. So I will say that, after reading his address upon the "Surprise of Capt. Wheeler," in your Bulletin, I sent him a note asking his explanation of the alleged fact that Capt. Hutchinson's party was ambushed in a cul-de-sac while being led by Ephraim Curtis, the official guide. In a prompt and courteous reply, he told me the same difficulty "had occurred to others," and he sent me a revised edition of his paper, in which he says he has "paid some attention to this difficulty," but that he can not solve the "mystery as to why the Brookfield man should have fallen into the trap; but all my study and inquiry leads me to the conclusion that they, too, were unfamiliar with the * * * * route as well as Curtis and the Indian guides." He requested me to write him again if "any new thoughts occurred to me upon the point now noted." In reply to some rather crude considerations, the Governor wrote, "If you have read my 'Wheeler's Surprise' in the form in which I sent it to you, I should much like to know how it has struck you on the point to which you called my attention."

Upon this I gave the subject a more careful study than ever before, and soon found myself so deeply interested that my notes exceeded any decent limits of a letter, and I wrote to the Governor querying whether, in consideration of the note on page 4 of his revised edition, I had not better prepare my letter in due form for publication, when he could send it to your Society, with such criticisms as he might wish to make. He was kind enough to say in reply that my remarks upon the subject would have value, and "it seems to me that anything you may say on the

subject of Wheeler's Narrative should come to the public directly from you rather than through the medium of another person." In view of its new destination I have made this letter more formal than the original draft, but it is essentially the same.

Hon. D. H. Chamberlain.

My dear Sir: Circumstances have delayed my reply to your last on the "Wheeler Surprise," in which you are pleased to say you should value my opinion on the question of the cul-de-sac. In the first place, I have to thank you for your generous estimate of my status in the field of local history, but you must be aware that from my entire ignorance of the lay of the land from personal observation, any opinion I might advance relating to the locality of the Surprise, would have no value in the controversy. I shall therefore devote myself to the interpretation of the evidence found in Wheeler's Narrative, in the "Relations" of Ephraim Curtis, and in other collateral contemporaneous papers. In this attempt I shall endeavor to put myself, so far as possible, in Wheeler's place, and see with his eyes, think his thoughts, and take an everyday estimate of his words and his acts in the emergency of the Surprise.

However Capt. Wheeler might rank with you as a soldier, he made no pretentions to your scholarship or your exactness of detailed description. His language is modest, but fervent and picturesque. His description of the massacre is vivid, but the phraseology is old-fashioned, involved, and sometimes the meaning may be obscure to the modern reader. You have been fortunate, indeed, if you have found any support to the statement that Wheeler's Narrative "was his formal report to his official superiors * * * * and put on the public files" soon after the occurrence. I can find no evidence of its being in any sense a report to the Governor and Council; in fact, even

a casual reading of the title of the Narrative shows the fallacy of this claim, and that it was addressed to the public. And why not? The official report should naturally come from Hutchinson, who was commissioned to command the expedition. Capt. Wheeler was not making a report to the authority which sent him out, but recording in earnest words to the glory of God "the Lord's Providences" in saving so many exposed lives in the expedition to the Nipmuck country. The pious sentiment of the day accepted with humble submission all the bad things that befel, as the work of a just but angry God, and the good things as the acts of grace and mercy from a God whose anger had been appeased by fasting, by prayer, by more constant attendance on Sunday service, or giving Him more glory and honor. It is well to keep this fact in mind when studying Wheeler's Narrative.

It seems to me that undue value has been placed upon some detached sentences in the Narrative where the face-value of the words may be modified by surrounding circumstances; examples being where he speaks of the miry swamp in front, and the way back to Foster's hill. There has been much discussion by different writers as to the route by which Hutchinson went out to the scene of the surprise and that by which he made the retreat; and Wheeler's remark is often quoted, where he says in describing the retreat, "We all came readily upon and safely to the town, though none of us knew the way to it"; this incidental mention of "the *way* to it" being adduced to prove some point in the controversy about roads or paths leading from Foster's hill northward. To my mind there is not a jot of evidence that the writer had in mind any highway, road, path or trail whatever; the proof of this lies in what follows: "We avoiding any thick wood and riding in open places to prevent danger by them" (the Indians). In point of fact, the fugitives were guided back to Brookfield by the Indian interpreters with an eye solely

to safety from further surprise. This restricted use of the word "way" would also prove still another road or path. Wheeler says a second ambush was avoided "which they attempted * * * but we perceiving which *way* they went wheeled off to the other hand." We may ourselves conclude that roads were not a common feature in that unbroken wilderness in 1675. It will appear upon a slight examination of the Narrative that the word "way," as generally used, should be interpreted in the most simple and natural way, as standing for course, direction or means. This interpretation shows a safe and easy way out of all confusion about routes in the Narrative. Hubbard says the guides led them back "in a by-path," but he could not have meant this literally, if Wheeler is right.

I agree with you that the distances named in the Narrative and by contemporary writers can have but small weight in settling controversy about locations. There could have been no measurements. However, in regard to the case in hand, the estimate or guess of Curtis must lead all others. The early scouts seem to have had a special sense by which they judged distances, or at least they thought they had, and acted accordingly. I have had occasion to look over "journals" of several marches or scouts through the wilderness with an eye to this matter. James Corse, of Deerfield, sent out by the Governor towards Canada, usually notes the distance of each day's travel. In three cases he "judged" the distance to be seven, ten, and twenty-five miles. In four cases it was "about ten miles," and in one case a mile and a half. In all others, without qualification, he gives the number of miles straight, ranging from one and a half to forty-one, the last by canoe. The famous Sergt. John Hawks of Deerfield in his journal from Canada hesitates about the day's march three times, but shows no hesitation the other days when he records from nine to thirty miles as the day's march. Sergt. Benjamin Wright of Northfield in his march over Green Mountain to the

lake gives the figures of forty marches of from "1 mile & ½" to twenty-one miles, with as much confidence as if he had used a gunter's chain or worn a pedometer. Although I am not now concerned with distances I note these facts because these men were of the same class as Ephraim Curtis. Whether they were right or wrong in their estimates, their judgment must be better than any others. Curtis, who had traversed the route five times, says the distance from Brookfield to Four Acre Island is "about eight miles * * * * to the best of my judgment." (Mass. Archives, 67,214.) Wheeler "understood" it was "about ten miles." At the place of surprise he says, "being then ten miles from" Brookfield. Whether this estimate was based on what he had "understood," or on his own observation, each must judge for himself. I have no doubt it seemed to Wheeler a very long ten miles before he reached shelter. Hubbard gives the distance from the appointed place of meeting at Wickabaug pond to the place of the surprise as four or five miles. I shall speak later of the source of his information. He did not get his figures from the Narrative. Wheeler's statement, which nobody questions, makes the distance from Brookfield to the place of the appointed meeting as three miles —an essential agreement with Curtis—and these original figures would place the scene of the ambush not far from "Four Acre Island." These statements of distances in a wilderness, of four or five, six or eight, eight or ten miles, should be taken as we should take such statements to-day in referring to slightly known places in a wild region remote from measured highways.

Much has been said while discussing the cul-de-sac as to the guide who led Hutchinson into the fatal ambush. You say "a friend who has studied this difficulty with me regards the fact that Wheeler had Indian guides in addition to Curtis and the Brookfield men, as nearly conclusive evidence that the latter were unfamiliar with the route

taken." You do not explain how the "fact" of Indian guides being employed by Hutchinson became established. I am accustomed to think of two of them, Joseph and Sampson Peterhanit, as being there in the capacity of interpreters. There is enough evidence, it seems to me, that Curtis was only the official guide, and was not acting as interpreter. One may easily be misled, as I was, in reading the printed copy of Hutchinson's commission. It reads that the Council "do order you Capt. Edward Hutchinson to take with you Capt. Thomas Wheeler & his party of horse with Ephraim Curtis for a guide and a sufficient interpreter & forthwith repaire into those parts," etc.

The records of the Governor and Council for this period are lost, but in the Massachusetts Archives (67,257) is found a rough draft of Hutchinson's commission. As originally drawn he was ordered to "take Capt. Wheeler and his troop of horse with Ephraim Curtis for a guide, & Peter Ephraim of Natick for an interpreter, & forthwith repaire unto the place," etc. Peter Ephraim was one of Eliot's well-known converts, who was often employed as an interpreter. Probably he was, for some reason, unavailable for this emergency, and the selection of a substitute was left with Capt. Hutchinson, and the wording of the commission was changed accordingly.

Is it not highly probable that the guide Curtis would recommend some of his old companions in his previous visits to the Nipmucks? But at any rate "Peter Ephraim of Natick for an" is erased, and "a sufficient," interlined, so that it then read as usually quoted. This accounts for the presence of the Indians with Capt. Hutchinson from the first, and that they were not impressed for guides to the "Four Acre Island," as your friend assumed. Capt. Wheeler in his earnestness to give God credit for His merciful providence, forgot to give the Indians any credit or even to name them in his Narrative, but he did, at the solicitation of Gen. Gookin, so far redeem himself that he

certified to their service in the expedition, and the names of two of them are borne on his roll, so there can be no doubt that they marched from Boston with Hutchinson, and were the guides that saved the party on the retreat. They were brothers, Joseph and Sampson Peterhanit. George Menicho, a third Indian, was probably of the same Boston party; at any rate he was with Hutchinson in the surprise.

You will remember that Curtis on his first visit to the Nipmucks had with him three volunteer Natick Indians, and will recall his statement on one visit that they "seemed to be very industrious all this time to still the tumult," while he was beset by a host of young armed Indians while crossing to the island, and that they finally succeeded in quieting the mob. George Menicho was probably the Natick Indian sent before to give notice of their coming. What more natural than that Curtis should recommend these tried and effective friends for this embassy? I think it but a fair assumption that the same men were the official interpreters for Hutchinson. At first it did not seem clear why Curtis was not employed; we might naturally suppose that he would be "a sufficient interpreter," until it came to mind that on a former visit to the island, while speaking of his interview with Mawtamp, and other sachems, Curtis says, "I had a good deal of speech with them by an interpreter, being brought to their court & sent out again three or four times." He does not name the interpreter, but the Naticks were educated and well equipped for such service. It appears that Curtis was well acquainted with the young Indians, and talked freely with them in English. But the cautious sachems and the "Grandees" chose to negotiate in their own language, through an Indian interpreter. For some reason, Curtis was a *persona non grata* as interpreter.

In a former letter I said I agreed with you that there was no direct evidence that Curtis was in the surprise, but knowing he was in Brookfield on the attack there, I could hardly conceive his not continuing on in his office of guide;

that the play could go on without Hamlet. I could never imagine Curtis as tarrying on Foster's hill until the broken party returned. Indeed, the westward route from Boston, through the Nipmuck towns, to Brookfield, was one that he who runs could read. The special need for Curtis was the route from Brookfield to the new camp of the Nipmucks, where "these Indians had newly begun to settle themselves upon an island containing about four acres of ground," as Curtis says in his report, July 10. I find no evidence, and there seems little probability, that any white man but Curtis, and James and John Barnard, whom Curtis took from Marlboro, had ever visited this new rendezvous; that it was known in Brookfield solely by the reports of Curtis; and certainly nothing in his report would encourage any Englishman, of his own motion, to risk his life amongst these young fire-eaters. I find no reason to suppose there was any path or trail from Brookfield to the new camp, until the Indian Curtis took from Marlboro (George Menicho?) guided him over it on his return to Brookfield from his first visit there. On his second visit Curtis says, he went "through brookfield," and so he doubtless followed his own trail to the camp. We also know Curtis was one of "the four men" who Wheeler says were sent from Brookfield to the camp, August 1. Wheeler does not name Curtis, but the evidence of his presence is found in Massachusetts Archives (67,254), where Curtis gives evidence in the trial of Puckyuahow. Curtis, then, had been over the trail from Brookfield to the camp at Four Acre Island at least five times. All the foregoing leads up directly or indirectly to the question of the cul-de-sac.

At the date of Hutchinson's march it was not known that the Indians were still at the island where Curtis left them a week before. Hutchinson could not realize that his old friends the Nipmucks were seriously bent on war; and he spent several days looking for them in their old haunts,

and where he expected to find the Narragansett strangers and "Demand ye grounds of yer marching in yt Country."

On his arrival at Brookfield, Aug. 1, Hutchinson, "understanding that the Indians were about ten miles northwest from us," sent out "four men to acquaint them" what his business was. Who were the four men? Wheeler gives no clue. We have seen Curtis was one, and it seems almost a matter of course that Sampson and Joseph, the interpreters, and George Menicho, whom I assume to have been the companions of Curtis in his two previous visits, and who had so effectually quieted the turbulent Indians, and aided Curtis in securing an audience with the Sachems, were the others. From Hubbard's History (Drake's ed. I-98) it would appear that he thought the four men were inhabitants of Brookfield. His language is, "The Inhabitants of said Brookfield had been so deluded by those treacherous villains, that they, fearing no Danger, first obtained those Nipnets the Promise of a Treaty, upon the 2d of August. Whereupon some of the Chief of the Town riding along unharmed [unarmed?—a contemporary writer says they "took no Arms with them"] with the said Wheeler," etc. Bodge (p. 62) says Curtis was one, and he thinks the others were two Brookfield men and one Indian, none named. I hesitated in regard to the Brookfield men until I noticed that Wheeler says he "*sent out* four men." This phraseology would hardly have been used had men of Brookfield been the messengers, and further he says that on the return of the four men their report of the "speeches and carriage" of the Indians "did much discourage divers of our Company." I reason that if any Brookfield men went, they must have been some of her leaders, and that a report of that character from such men must have had decisive influence on their townsmen. But the subsequent action of the Brookfield men shows that the report had with them no weight at all. They nowhere show the least sign of discouragement.

It was a mission of danger upon which it would seem no untried men would be sent. Twice had Curtis been through the dangerous ordeal, and thanks to his boldness, his address, his diplomatic character, and the vital aid of his Indian friends, he had come off in safety. By the same elements, we may assume, he escaped the same danger Aug. 2, and returned unscathed a third time. We have seen that in his first visit an interpreter was necessary between Curtis and the Sachems, and who but the official interpreters would be employed now? It seems to me there can be no other conclusion than that the four men were Curtis and his three Indian companions.

There are conflicting contemporary statements as to the message the four men brought back. It is important, *if true*, that the "Sachems sent this Word they would speak with none but Captain Hutchinson himself," but that an arrangement was finally made that Hutchinson and Wheeler "themselves" should meet them "at such a Tree, and at such a Time." (The Present State of New England, under date of Nov. 10, 1675.) Wheeler's Narrative gives no hint of such an agreement, and leaves no opportunity for it. It may be said, it is true, that had such an agreement been made, and violated by the English, Wheeler would hardly have noted it in view of the outcome. We can all speculate upon the bearing of this story upon the tragic events of the day, but as I do not find any support for it, save the fact that Hutchinson owned large farms in the Nipmuck country, and must have been "known by Face to many of them" who had been employed by him, in agricultural pursuits, we must rely upon Wheeler, until he be proved in the wrong.

The report of Curtis on his return from the Swamp, Aug. 1, describing the turbulent and defiant disposition of the Indians, "did much to discourage divers of our company," says Wheeler. Again, when it was found that the Sachems failed to keep the appointment, the next day, there

was more hesitation and discussion, "divers of us apprehending much danger in case we did proceed." It is clear here that Wheeler counts himself as one of the doubters and frees himself of all responsibility, saying, "the said Capt. Hutchinson," who was the head of the commission, decided to go forward on the representation of the "three of the principal inhabitants of Brookfield." We may here repeat that if any men of Brookfield had gone to the Swamp the day before, it must have been at least some of those highest in military office; and with the knowledge of the condition of affairs there, the march would hardly have been continued on this new evidence of bad faith in the Sachems. Their personal knowledge would have had more influence than that of the fearless Curtis and the Indians. These considerations, I think, must eliminate the Brookfield men from the list of possible guides to Four Acre Island. It does not appear from the Narrative that Curtis, the Indians, or anybody else favored going toward the swamp, except the three honest men of Brookfield who paid the forfeit of their lives for their faith in their treacherous neighbors.

If our observations and reasoning have been correct, the guide from the appointed place of meeting to the place of the Surprise could hardly be other than Curtis. He, as we have seen, was familiar with the swamp covering the Indian camp, and the route to it, and it seems evident that when Hutchinson found the Indians would not come to meet him, he determined to visit them in the swamp where his messengers had left them a few hours before.

Whoever led, it must have been some one knowing the way. How otherwise would Hutchinson attempt to take such a cavalcade through such a defile? Any woodsman would know that a steep ledge or root projecting into the swamp, an impassable gulch, a single fallen tree, or a quicksand spring at the base of the hill, would bring the whole command to a standstill. This fact would be patent to all,

and its consideration alone must tell heavily against the theory of a cul-de-sac.

Now, how was the onward march ordered? At first thought, it would seem,—as the movement was generally thought to contain elements of danger,—that Captain Wheeler and his troopers would head the column; but on second thought, we recall the fact that this was not a hostile march, but was a peaceful mission to presumable, if doubtful, friends, charged with the duty of bearing a friendly message and "to come to a Treaty of Peace with them"; and is it not safe to conclude that Captain Hutchinson must have known that if the troopers first came in contact with the inflamed young Indians whom Curtis had always met at the outposts, the end in view would surely be defeated, and hostilities at once be precipitated.

Taking all things into account I judge the line of march would be in this order. The entering wedge would be Curtis and the Indians followed by the Brookfield men, Captain Hutchinson, Captain Wheeler, leading his troop. However Wheeler may have marched in the open woods, in platoon, or plies, or file, when the crisis came, his men must of necessity have been in single file, and so have extended some twenty or thirty rods in picking their uncertain way. The first division, being eight horsemen, also in single file, would doubtless cover some ten or a dozen rods, so that when the trap was sprung, the victims would be strung out in a helpless line, thirty or forty rods long, utterly powerless to support one another; the line of fire from the ambush in the swamp extending the whole distance, the swamp on the left impassable for horses, the side hill on the right, steep and covered with bushes, so that any military formation was impossible; no orders could be given or heard, and there was nothing left for the bravest of men to do but follow the course which Captain Wheeler says they did follow, "to fly for the safety of our lives, ...

We were forced as we could to get up the steep and rocky hill." The terrible scene is best described by Captain Wheeler in his Narrative.

"The said Captain Hutchinson, who was principally intrusted with the matter of Treaty with them, was thereby encouraged to proceed and march forward towards a swampe where the Indians then were [i. e. where Curtis found them the day before]. When we came near the said swampe [*said* swamp, not *a* swamp], the way was so very bad that we could march only in a single file, there being a very rocky hill on the right hand, and a thick swampe on the left. In which there were many of those cruel, bloodthirsty heathen, who there way laid us, waiting an opportunity to cut us off; There being also much brush on the side of the said hill [opposite the place], where they lay in ambush to surprise us. [The Indians would not be on the side hill, as that would necessitate a dangerous cross fire.] When we had marched there [in the narrow defile] about sixty or seventy rods, the said perfidious Indians sent out their shot upon us, a shower of haile, they being (as was supposed), about two hundred men or more. We seeing ourselves so beset, and not having room to fight, endeavored to fly, for the safety of our lives. In which flight [up and over the rocky hill] we were in no small danger to be all cut off, there being a very miry swamp before us [fronting the hill], into which we could not enter with our horses to go forwards [i.e. to form or close up ranks to drive out the ambush?], and there being no safety in retreating the way we came, because many of their company, who lay behind the bushes, and had let us pass by them quietly; when [the] others had shot, they came out, and stopt our way back, so that we were forced as we could to get up the steep and rocky hill. . . My self being gone up part of the hill without any hurt, and perceiving some of my men to be fallen by the enemies' shot, I wheeled about upon the Indians, not calling upon my men who were left to accompany me,

which they in all probabililty would have done had they known of my return upon the enemy. They firing violently out of the swamp [*the* swamp], and from behind the bushes on the hill side [in front and rear] wounded me sorely, and shot my horse under me, so that he faultering and falling, I was forced to leave him, divers of the Indians being then but a few rods distant from me. My son Thomas Wheeler flying with the rest of the company [over the hill] missed me amongst them, and fearing that I was either slain or much in danger returned towards the swampe again [the swamp facing the side hill] though he had then received a dangerous wound in the reins, where he saw me in the danger aforesaid. Whereupon, he endeavored to rescue me, shewing himself therein a loving and dutiful son, he adventuring himself into great peril of his life to help me in that distress, there being many of the enemies about me, my son set me on his own horse, and so escaped a while on foot himself, until he caught an horse whose rider was slain, on which he mounted, and so through God's great mercy we both escaped. But in this attempt for my deliverance, he received another dangerous wound by their shot in his left arm * * * * Corporal French, of Billericay, who having killed an Indian, was (as he was taking up his gun) shot, and part of one of his thumbs taken off, and also dangerously wounded through the body near the shoulder." This bold trooper has not been identified.

I have given this terse and graphic recital of the events of the Surprise that we may become familiar with the picture; and to that end also, we will take a bird's-eye view from the top of a supposed high tree in the swamp at the rear of the ambush. From this perch we can overlook the whole scene of the tragedy.

In front of us lies a low, rocky hill, covered at this point with bushes, at its foot a swamp with forest trees, alders and rank vegetation; a wilderness, peaceful and still, with

no sign of human touch or presence. A horseman now appears on the right, followed by a cavalcade which winds its way along at the junction of hill and swamp, each horse carrying his head low as it picks its way at a slow foot pace over roots and slippery, shelving rocks. George Menicho, Curtis, the Indian brothers, Sergeant Ayres and his two companions, Captain Hutchinson, Captain Wheeler, his son, "who was next or near unto him," and a few troopers have passed us. Suddenly from the quiet marsh at our feet a fierce blaze of flashing fire bursts out to the right and the left of us, the whole length of the cavalcade, and the report of hundreds of firelocks and hundreds of war whoops turns the quiet of nature into an infernal pandemonium. The line of horsemen are in wild confusion, fallen men and horses struggling in the narrow pass, so that the survivors can go neither backward nor forward. Curtis and the three Indians leading the line are unhurt, probably spared for old-time friendship, or it may be as a matter of policy. We see one of them, George Menicho, spring out into the swamp among the Indians, before he realizes what has happened, in a vain attempt to "still the tumult," and explain the situation as had been his forte. It is sometimes said he was "captured" in the fray, but that was manifestly impossible, had he followed the others. Wheeler is in the storm centre; the three Brookfield men preceding him are killed; Captain Hutchinson mortally wounded, his son behind him wounded, and five of his troopers are killed, all at the first fire. Captain Wheeler is unhurt, but obeying a natural impulse to "fly for his life," he and the other survivors are seen urging their horses up the rocky steep on their right, unmounted men and riderless horses following close in the rear as best they can. All quickly disappear over the top of the hill to a place of safety. All but Captain Wheeler! Half way up the slope we see him stop and look back. He discovers the fallen men, and being wrought

upon by his natural bravery, he wheels his unhurt steed and faces the Indians to render to the sufferers such aid as he can. Sinking the commander in the man, he makes no call to stay the flying horsemen; his first impulse was the wiser; he is now the sole target of those who have recharged their guns, and both himself and his horse are almost instantly struck with bullets from the covert.

Here occurs the thrilling episode of the rescue by his son, Thomas. When the fugitives had collected on the other side of the hill, the young man missed his father with whom he had started up the steep, and we see the son, equaling Captain Wheeler in bravery, coming back over the hill in the face of the enemy, seeking for his father. He was just in the nick of time. The Captain's horse had fallen. There was a movement in the swamp on our left, a few Indians were crawling cautiously from their cover, and, as the Captain says, "they were but a few rods distant." A long shot had at this moment broken an arm of the son. Why do not the Indians rush upon these wounded men? We had seen a moment before in the swamp on our right another movement for leaving cover. One Indian, more eager than the rest for blood and plunder, left his lair and was rushing upon his prey, when we saw the flash of a musket from the side hill, and the exposed Indian fall. For some unknown reason Corporal French did not go up the hill with the rest; he may have been entangled under his fallen horse. At any rate he improved the opportunity, so rarely offered, of seeing an Indian enemy in the open. Upon the fall of this Indian, the rest of the cowardly crew shrank back to cover all along the line, whence French was fired upon and wounded; but his daring act doubtless saved the lives of Captain Wheeler and his son. We breathe more freely as the two wounded men disappear over the top of the hill. All this took place in less time than it has taken me to tell it. I have dwelt upon this scene with a purpose, as you will have foreseen.

It was in these swift minutes, while this picture of the tragedy, the fire and smoke and heroism was before us, that Captain Wheeler, if ever, made the observations on "the miry swamp before us into which we could not enter with our horses to go forwards," the statement which some cite to prove the cul-de-sac. Captain Wheeler's language is plain, and should naturally be so interpreted, if not qualified by circumstances. My judgment is that the sentence quoted refers to the swamp fronting the hill, into which really no horses could go to charge the ambush, and that it had no reference whatever to a further advance in their line of march. If the position of Captain Wheeler in the line be rightly indicated, he would be quite a distance from the front, and his opportunity of observing the "miry swamp before us" must be small indeed, if he referred to one in front of the guide, and not to the one containing the ambush.

There was no time, and there appears in the Narrative not the slightest indication of any attempt, any desire, or any opportunity, to examine the path in front of the column; and clearly there could be no object in trying to go forwards towards the Indian camp. There was nothing for the party to do but to "fly for the safety of our lives" up the rocky ledge.

Captain Wheeler left Brookfield for home as soon as he was able to travel, and we may be sure that he did not again see the scene of the disaster before October, when his Narrative was published. It is hardly doing credit to Indian sagacity to suppose that they would lay an ambush at random, where there was no trail towards their camp to entice their victims onward. By what chance could they expect that Captain Hutchinson would stumble into a cul-de-sac? I can think of no reasonable reply to this objection. It appears to me that the above and other considerations may well eliminate the question of a cul-de-sac in searching for the scene of the ambush; but a

rocky hill must be found over which the troopers rode to safety, and where they could and did rally for the retreat. It is a notable thing, worthy of the highest admiration, that there appears no sign of a panic among the stricken men in the fearful crisis. Although Captain Hutchinson and nearly half of his command were either killed or wounded, he evidently rallied the survivors behind the hill, and after waiting the results of young Wheeler's attempt to rescue his father, the whole party rode away in a compact body.

In conclusion I would say a few words in regard to the origin of Wheeler's Narrative. We must needs assume that in that paper we are reading the thoughts and sentiments of Captain Wheeler, because he published it as his own. At the same time we know that the composition as it stands is not the work of Captain Wheeler. So much is proved by comparing it with an original letter of his, written the same month of the publication (Massachusetts Archives, 68, 7). This letter reveals the prompt unlettered man of affairs, but not the writer of the Narrative. I have before said Wheeler's Narrative was not a report of his expedition to the government, but was published as a religious duty. In this Captain Wheeler was in full accord with the spirit and usage of his times. In May, 1676, Rev. Hope Atherton had a narrow escape from death by Indians on another expedition, and he says he "desires * * * * that all people that shall hear of the Lord's dealings with him to praise and give thanks to God for a series of remarkable deliverances wrought for him * * * Wonderful in themselves and marvelous in mine eyes * * * * * I think it not too much to say, should you and I be silent and not set forth the praises of God, that the stones and beams of our houses would sing hallelujah."

In the same spirit Rev. John Williams, of Deerfield, wrote the "Redeemed Captive." He says in the dedication, "God has given us plentiful occasion to sing of mercy as well as judgment." "The wonders of divine mercy

which we have seen in the land of our captivity, and deliverance therefrom, can not be forgotten without incurring the guilt of the blackest ingratitude. To preserve the memory of these" the book was written.

Captain Wheeler was so forward to perform his whole duty in giving God due glory for saving the lives of those who returned from Brookfield, that, as I have said, he entirely forgot to give any credit to or even mention the Indians, without whose aid there would have been no Thanksgiving Day, for there would have been no survivors to give thanks or glory to God. It may be that in the eyes of Captain Wheeler and his pastor these humble instruments were too contemptible to be named in such a connection. Certainly this view would accord with the pious sentiment of the period. Hubbard also forgets or disdains to mention them. Could these "children of the Devil" have any part in the counsels of the Lord! Sometime after the return of Wheeler and his men to Concord a Thanksgiving service was held, when Mr. Edward Bulkley preached a sermon. In October Captain Wheeler sent to press a pamphlet with the following title, "A Thankefull Remembrance | Of Gods Mercy | To Several Persons at Quabaug or | Brookfield: | Partly in a Collection of Providences about them, | and Gracious Appearances for them: And partly in a | Sermon Preached By Mr. Edward Bulkley | Pastor of the Church of Christ at Concord, upon a | day of Thanksgiving kept for divers for their Wonderful Deliverance there. | Published by Capt. Thomas Wheeler. Psal. 117,8 Oh that men would Praise the Lord for | his Goodness, and his Wonderful Works to the Children | of Men. Psal. CXI,2. The Works of the Lord are great | sought out of all those that Love him. | Cambridge | Printed and Sold by Samuel Green."

The first part of this pamphlet was the sermon; the second part was the Narrative as we have it. It is one of the rarest of New England publications. Drake had seen but one copy of it, and I am indebted to the custodians of a copy at the Essex Institute, and to Mr. George E. Littlefield, for information about its publication. Whether Wheeler's Narrative was rewritten, or taken down from his own lips by his minister, we have no means of knowing. The circumstances of its issue should be borne in mind, and we must needs be careful to consider, that the turn of a word or phrase is not a sufficient base on which to build and fortify in defense of any theory or opinion.

Beyond the Narrative of Wheeler and the "Relations" of Curtis little has been found bearing upon this disaster. Gookin supplies information concerning the invaluable services of the Natick Indians omitted by Wheeler. Hubbard's account of the Surprise seems to be an independent one, for we may observe that he did not strictly follow Wheeler's printed account of it. Presumably he got his information from Wheeler personally, and also from the stories of other survivors of the affair. His account is in general agreement with Wheeler's, while differing in many details. Wheeler says the casualties were eight killed and five wounded, one mortally. Hubbard says eight were killed and three mortally wounded. He could not have included the Wheelers, father and son, who both died before his book was published, for he says in the same connection both "were cured." While Hubbard's account of the rescue of Captain Wheeler by his son is the same in the main features, the details of time and action are widely divergent from those of Captain Wheeler. [Drake's ed., I, 99.] One may note also quite a difference from Wheeler in the details of the attempts by the Indians to burn the house of refuge in Brookfield. These are small matters, of no particular account, and are adduced to show that Hubbard, at that day, did not take the

word of Wheeler as final; if he did, as is generally supposed, use the Narrative in writing his history, he should have seen it, as his history was not published until June, 1677.

Very respectfully yours,

GEORGE SHELDON.

Quite a lengthy discussion followed the reading of Mr. Sheldon's paper, participated in by President Crane, Messrs. Hutchins, Nathaniel Paine and ex-Governor Chamberlain, the latter having read a paper on this subject at a previous meeting of this Society, and now in print. Mr. Sheldon's contention was that it was not a preconceived plan on the part of the Indians to draw Wheeler and his men into ambush. Governor Chamberlain thought it was and that it was quite successfully carried out.

Mr. Hutchins prefaced his reading by calling attention to the value of collecting facts relating to our common every-day affairs, thereby passing on to future generations a history of the present time, and presented, in behalf of Miss Annie L. Otis, a book of programmes of the Union Church, which was gratefully received and thanks of the Society rendered.

On motion of Mr. George M. Rice, a vote of thanks was given Gen. A. B. R. Sprague for granting

members of the Society the opportunity for seeing the "Barbara Frietchie flag" and for listening to the story of Conrad Reno regarding it.

At this point the meeting was adjourned for one week.

ADJOURNED MEETING.

Tuesday evening, June 11th, 1901.

Met pursuant to adjournment.

President Crane in the chair.

Others present: Messrs. Arnold, C. C. Baldwin, Dickinson, Davidson, Darling, Gould, Hobbs, Major Harlow, M. A. Maynard, George Maynard, Williamson, Mrs. Barrett, Miss Cogswell, Mrs. Darling, Mrs. Daniel Kent, Miss Moore, Miss Smith, Miss M. Agnes Waite, Mrs. Wetherbee, Daniel Seagrave, H. G. Otis, A. C. Munroe, Miss Barrett, Miss Morse and other visitors.

The proposed changes in the By-Laws, as recommended by the Executive Committee, were taken up and each amendment carefully considered. After full discussion the changes as proposed were unanimously adopted, including one offered by Mr. H. G. Otis requiring a vote by ballot when any further amendments shall be made to the By-Laws.

On recommendation of the Standing Committee on Nominations, Mr. Albert Edward Smith was elected to active membership.

M. A. Maynard, in behalf of Committee on Excursion, stated that arrangements had been made to visit Marblehead, Mass., Saturday, June 15, 1901. That the trip would be made via B. & A. R. R. to Boston, thence by electric cars to place of destination. Returning would leave Marblehead at 4.30 o'clock P. M., Boston either 7 o'clock or 9.25, as members might elect.

George Maynard was then introduced and gave quite a complete outline of what might be seen on a visit to quaint old Marblehead, referring to what her townspeople accomplished in the Revolutionary War and War of 1812, as well as the Civil War, history of some of her early settlers, her calamities by fire, and much other information, showing her rich field for the antiquary or lover of history.

Mr. A. C. Munroe, referring to the contemplated visit to Marblehead, spoke of the once popularity of what is known as the "Neck," where at one time there were about fifteen hundred people encamped during the summer season. The land was owned by a Mr. Brown, who offered to sell it for about forty thousand dollars, although it cost him but fifteen thousand. He found so many anxious to purchase that he decided to put it up at auction, when it was struck off to a syndicate for two hundred and fifty-five thousand dollars. But the deal was not consummated, for the reason Brown could not give a clear title to the land on account of certain "cow rights" held by inhabitants of the town.

After remarks by Mr. Darling as to the historic value of the place, the meeting was adjourned.

361st Meeting.

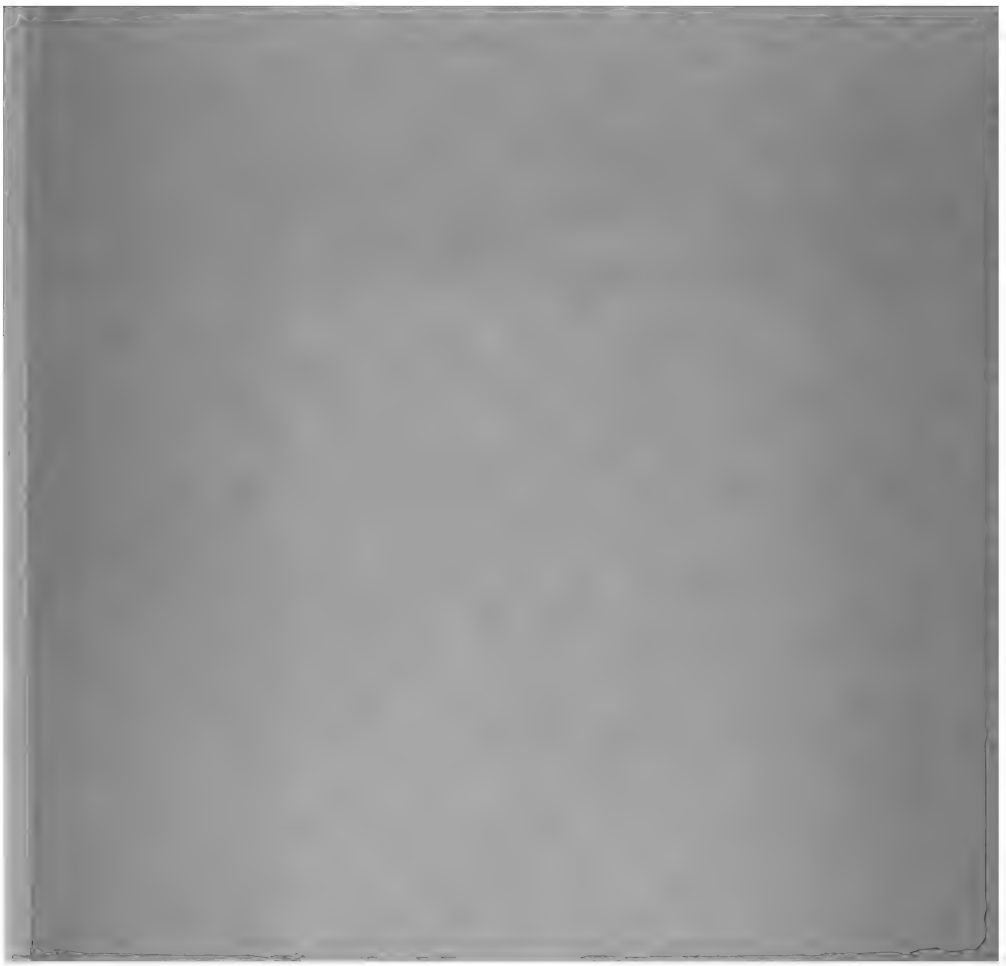
Tuesday evening, July 2, 1901.

Vice-President Maynard in the chair. Others present: Messrs. Abbot, Arnold, C. C. Baldwin, Dickinson, Davidson, C. A. Gray, George Maynard, H. G. Otis, Paine, George M. Rice, Seagrave, C. E. Staples, Williamson, Mrs. C. C. Baldwin, Mrs. Chenoweth, Mrs. Fowler, Miss May, Miss Moore, Miss Agnes Waite, Mrs. Weatherbee, and several visitors.

Librarian reported additions for past month, 63 bound volumes, 99 pamphlets, 32 papers, and 9 miscellaneous articles.

Special mention was made of the contribution from Mrs. Mary L. O. Hines of West Boylston, Mass., numbering 44 volumes, several pamphlets, and 30 relics, a very generous gift, for which the Society renders grateful acknowledgment.

The paper, "Old Worcester, III," written by Mrs. E. O. P. Sturgis, being a continuation of the interesting reminiscences relating to some of the old families and their homes in Worcester in the days of yore and presented by her, through the Hon. Stephen Salisbury, were then read.



deceived, for the Judge's eyes would open slowly and from that ponderous frame would come forth the words: "Young man, that is not law." Judge Shaw was born and bred on Cape Cod, where it is said a grasshopper searches in vain for a blade of grass on which to rest while scratching the dust out of his eyes, so he may be excused, not being used to trees, for saying that "Worcester would be a very pretty town if all the shade trees were cut down."

An excellent likeness of Chief Justice Shaw may be seen in the Salem Court House, painted by the late William M. Hunt, a full-length portrait, representing him in the act of addressing a jury. It was rather a gala time in Worcester when the judges came in the autumn, for Governor Lincoln always entertained them at dinner, and they were invited about in other houses to tea and evening parties. My mother's family having come also from Cape Cod, there was an inherited friendship between her family and that of the Shaws—so in consequence I saw the Chief Justice in my father's house when he was holding court in Worcester.

It was, too, quite interesting for the young members of the Unitarian Church to see the judges come into meeting, escorted by and ushered into the pews of the prominent lawyers of the congregation. I quote the following from the diary of Christopher C. Baldwin: "Spent the evening at Mr. Calvin Willard's, High Sheriff for the county. Have a sumptuous entertainment. Mr. Willard always affords such an entertainment once during each court."

The old Eaton house is, I believe, still standing on the west side of Main street. In former days people, as they passed on the sidewalk, rarely missed seeing Miss Sally Eaton at work in her southeast window, and I fancy the house would wear a strange look without her.

The Central or Orthodox Meeting House was one of the landmarks of Worcester. It was largely endowed, if not built by the late Daniel Waldo, and here he and his family

came to worship, as did Madam Salisbury, Mr. Salisbury being a Unitarian and attending that house of worship. Mr. and Mrs. Emory Washburn and the Bigelows from Front street came here to meeting, but I was not familiar with the inside of this house, and therefore do not recollect many of the worshippers there. I recall two of the pastors, however, the Rev. John S. C. Abbott and Dr. S. Sweetser. The "Brick Meeting House," or the church of the "Second Parish" as it was called later, next claims our attention.

It was burned down in 1849, but after a lapse of fifty or more years, I can see in my mind's eye the inside of it and where most of the people sat, as if I had been there yesterday.

The pulpit was an old-fashioned high one, with a handsome curtain of rich crimson damask in the rear of it, but otherwise the present church is like the old one, even to the tablets which hang on each side of the pulpit, and concerning which so many foolish stories have been told in connection with Dr. Bancroft. Entering through a vestibule, after ascending a flight of stone steps, we enter the broad aisle, and the occupant of the first pew on the right is Mr. John Hammond; then came Mr. Joshua Kendall, some pews intervening—Governor John Davis, S. M. Burnside, F. W. Paine and his dog Trip, who, for many years, attended meeting as regularly as his master—Chas. Paine, Stephen Salisbury—and here my memory fails me as to the exact order in which they came, but not as to the people—George T. Rice, Pliny Merrick, G. W. Richardson, B. F. Thomas, Frederick Gale, Samuel Allen, Thomas Kinnicutt and the minister's family.

On the left as we entered the aisle were the Misses Stearns, who kept a boarding and day school in Salisbury's block, and their young ladies; Miss Hannah Bigelow, Ephraim Mower, Dr. Chandler, Charles Allen, Simeon Burt, Rejoice Newton, Governor Levi Lincoln, Francis H.

Kinnicutt, H. B. Claflin and Deacon Butman. Scattered about in the house were: George A. Trumbull, John Weiss, the Misses Wheeler, Sally Eaton, the Barnards and Bigelows, Calvin Willard, Albert and William Brown, Edwin Conant, Dr. Hayward, Deacon Kettell, Saml. B. Scott, Dr. O. H. Blood, Gardiner Paine, and many other people whose names I cannot recall at the moment. Of course, the families of these gentlemen were with them. There were only a few people in the pews in the galleries. Formerly the customs in the meeting houses were different from those of churches of today. We stood up not only in the long and short prayer, but in singing time, turning our backs on the minister.* Before we had an organ, Mr. Emory Perry conducted the musical part of our devotions, and played on his great bass viol. Marriage bans were not only put up in the porch of the meeting house, but read from the pulpit three Sundays in succession before the ceremony, much to the annoyance of the parties concerned, though they more often absented themselves on the occasion. The women went into meeting so soon as they arrived, but the men waited on the steps of the house or in the vestibule and conversed, and only came in when the minister arrived or when the tolling of the bell ended. This custom probably arose from the fact that people who came long distances found this the only time when they could meet their friends, and in country parishes the custom still continues.

The men also went out after the service before the women, they following soon after, their relatives and friends waiting for them on the outside.

After a funeral, prayers were requested, the notice being read from the pulpit just previous to the long prayer, "on behalf of the family in affliction."

This custom was hard on the minister, for he had prob-

*The custom of turning around to face the choir is still kept up.

ably said all there was to say at the funeral, and was in doubt what to add to his recent utterances. Funeral sermons were often expected, and must, in most cases, have been an affliction to a minister, for except on public occasions they were out of place, and the parson must often have been in a quandary to meet the wishes of the family of the departed, for generally there was no foundation for a sermon in the life of the deceased, or else it was a case of "the least said the better."

The following story has been told of a former bishop of Massachusetts, who had been requested to preach a funeral sermon at Trinity Church in Boston, after the death of a young man who was well known to the congregation not to be a desirable youth, to put it mildly, and they listened with amazement as the bishop described in glowing terms the extremely Christian attributes of the departed. But at the close of the discourse the climax came when he said: "All these particulars have been given me by his mother."

I have read a story of a young minister who very soon after his settlement in a rural parish had been requested to preach a funeral sermon after the death of an extremely aged member of the community, of whom he knew nothing, and of whom he could get no information after visiting different members of the congregation, for, in fact, there was nothing to tell. But finally a bright idea came to him, and he wrote a sermon which proved most acceptable to the family of the aged man as well as to the parish. He dilated on the long life of the subject of his discourse, and then went on to describe all the wonderful discoveries which had been made in arts and sciences during that time—telephones, telegraphs, electricity, and everything else which had been discovered during the life of this aged man were commented on in most eloquent terms. The family were pleased, but as time went on and the excitement of the occasion wore off, they came to the conclu-

sion that after all was said and done "there was not much in the sermon about father."

There was always a little excitement in meeting when a baby was to be christened, and it was quite an exceptional case when a child was not brought to be baptized as soon as possible after birth, but now in Unitarian churches the custom has somewhat died out.

Sometimes a whole family were kept until they were grown up, and I recall in one case a father of a large family walking up the aisle followed by a long string of boys and girls, one boy at the last moment refusing to follow.

I was not present on the following occasion, but I heard it from those who were. A father had kept a large family of boys until they were able to walk, and then they were paraded up to the communion table. The first one was named George Washington, and as long as the number of children held out, so were they called one after another for the Presidents of the United States, in succession.

During a funeral from the church or elsewhere the bell tolled from the time the body left the house until the procession reached the cemetery, a custom now, I believe, obsolete, except on especial occasions, for amid the noises of a large city the sound of one bell more than another would not be observed.

The last time I recall hearing the bell of the Second Parish tolled was in 1841, on the occasion of the funeral of my great aunt, Mrs. Bradish, though, I dare say, the custom obtained at a later date.

In small villages the meeting house bell still tolls the years of a person who has died, thus announcing to a small community that one of their number has passed away—the "passing bell," so called.

The observance of Fast and Thanksgiving Days was not neglected in the brick meeting house, the ministers generally taking advantage of these occasions to preach on subjects they would not have done on Sundays.

The proclamations were read from the pulpit some time prior to these festivals, and from year to year were nearly of the same pattern.

The Governor of the State was almost certain to be announced as either "Levi Lincoln" or "John Davis," and "Edward D. Bangs" was a perennial Secretary of State. "God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," the closing words of these proclamations, always left in the youthful mind a doubt if this was an invocation to save the Commonwealth from the machinations of those irreproachable "Heads of the State," Governor Lincoln and Governor Davis and the equally blameless Edward D. Bangs, or was merely a figure of speech.

I have no recollection of the family attending meeting on Fast Day, but we had a cold dinner, not because we fasted, but on account of "the help," as servants were called in those days, who were generally of the Orthodox persuasion, and considered "Fast Day" a second Sunday in the week, and always going to meeting on that day and fasting until sundown.

"Fast Day," as years passed, became a misnomer, and, losing all its significance, has happily been done away with.

The old custom of ministers exchanging is still observed, but to a limited extent compared with former days. In old times the city churches were kept open all summer, and the ministers were only too glad to come into the country for a Sunday, and often remaining during the ensuing week, for most of them had friends who were only too glad to receive them.

The country parson, too, was glad of a change and to go to the city, where, perhaps, he got a whiff of sea air, met his brethren from whom he got new ideas of common interest, and had an opportunity to visit his old college and the divinity school, and to look into the book stores, coming home refreshed physically and mentally, attributes which somehow got into his next Sunday's sermon.

I recall many of the ministers who used to come to Worcester to exchange with Dr. Bancroft or Mr. Hill. There were Dr. Edward Hall of Providence, whose imposing appearance in the pulpit and eloquent sermons some people may remember; Dr. John Brazer, from the North Church in Salem, a most clerical looking man and interesting preacher; Dr. James Thompson of the Barton Square Church of the same city; Dr. Alexander Young from the "Church Green" in Boston; Dr. Orville Dewey of New York, who was a guest of Judge Pliny Merrick when he came to Worcester, and who on one occasion when he was asked to say "grace" at the table, answered: "Judge, do you say grace when I am not here?"—being answered in the negative, he declined to do it; good Dr. Andrew Peabody, as people called him, the last survivor of this group of ministers; Dr. Ezra Gannet from the Federal Street Church in Boston, the successor of Dr. Channing, in whose morbid nature there was a streak of humor which, when it was in the ascendant, made him a delightful companion; Dr. S. K. Lothrop from Brattle Street in Boston; Dr. George E. Ellis from Charlestown; Saintly Henry Ware, as he was called, and Dr. Francis Parkman, so minute in stature that he might well be called in the name of a modern novel, "The Little Minister."

It was said that on one occasion he rose in the pulpit and said, "Lo, it is I; be not afraid," when a shadow of a smile passed over the faces of the congregation, their heads soon to be bowed in prayer as they listened to his eloquent invocation to the Almighty. He was full of wit and humor, and many stories of his amusing sayings and doings are still handed down among his family connections.

I remember on one occasion at my father's house Dr. Gannet was lamenting over the trouble he was giving my mother during a visit there, when some convention was in progress. Dr. Parkman said: "Brother Gannet, take

out your purse and pay her." Then she would say: "May your money perish with you"; and so these ministers joked with each other and made themselves more than welcome in the house by their genial ways and agreeable conversation. On one occasion when "Fanny Kemble" was reading in Boston, Dr. Young came in quite late, hoping to find a seat, but not succeeding in so doing, was leaving the hall, when Dr. Parkman leaned over from the platform and said: "Brother Young, may this disappointment be sanctified to you."

The country ministers, too, filled the pulpit from time to time. Hither came Parson Allen from Northboro and he of the same name from Bolton, who preached in black cotton gloves with the ends of the fingers cut off; Rev. Samuel May from Leicester, Rev. Calvin Lincoln from Fitchburg, Dr. Thayer from Lancaster and Rev. E. B. Willson from Grafton, later of the North Church in Salem, and many more too numerous to mention; and I have no doubt that in the old Calvinistic days that doughty Christian warrior, Parson Buckminster, came down from the hills of Rutland, dressed in his flowing robes and wearing his cocked hat, to bear his testimony to the truth of those doctrines.

Many quaint stories are told of this old man and his wife. Every child in the street was made to bow to him or to his office, he representing it, or if they did not, his cane refreshed their memory on the subject. Mrs. Buckminster, it was said, made 364 rice puddings in the course of the year, only on "Fast Day" deviating from this rule.

It may not be generally known that the late George Bancroft had intended following in the footsteps of his father, after finishing his studies in Germany, and that on two occasions he occupied his pulpit, and that his friends dissuaded him from this purpose, advising him that preaching was not a vocation in which his talents would best be employed.

The Fiske estate was a little to the south of the meeting house, and up on the hillside stood a wooden house painted white, having a pleasant and rural appearance from the street, nestling among the trees, while a pathway bordered on each side with flower beds led up to it, and a lawn covered with trees extending some distance to the north of the house sloped down to Main street. Here dwelt Dr. Oliver Fiske, of whom I have, if any, only a faint remembrance.

To the north of the meeting house stood an old colonial mansion, the residence of Mr. Rejoice Newton, who must have moved here from Front street, but at an earlier date the home of Isaiah Thomas.

Between here and the "Old Court House," so called after the new one was built, stood a small one-story wooden building, painted dark brown, in which someone whose name I cannot recall kept a school for young children, and which I attended.

Now here I find myself back in Lincoln square, from where I started to write these rambling, desultory notes about old Worcester. The field next to the Court House is now covered with the new hall of the American Antiquarian Society, a building not so picturesque externally as the old one was, but doubtless better adapted to the purposes for which it is intended, and a safer place of deposit for the preservation of the treasures contained therein, over which the late librarian, Samuel F. Haven, watched so faithfully and guarded so carefully.

Mr. Haven moved with the contents of the hall from Summer street, and devoted the remainder of his life to promoting the ends and aims of the Society.

A born antiquary, like his predecessor in office, and learned in scholastic lore, he was admirably adapted to fill the place left vacant by the untimely death of that gentleman.

It may not be out of place to refer here to "Kit Baldwin,"

as his friends called him, the second librarian of the American Antiquarian Society. I remember him very well, for he was as amusing and entertaining to the children of his friends as he was to them.

His diary, lately published, gives one a pleasant impression of him, and one lays down the book with a feeling of regret that the allotted time of our lives of three-score years and ten had not been vouchsafed to him, for though what he did write is valuable, how invaluable would have been his diary if it had covered a longer space of time!

What a delightful picture he portrays of the places he visited and the people with whom he associated! What a treasure he must have been to the tavern keepers in whose houses he lodged—always ready to entertain or be entertained by the passing traveller, and doubtless being an attraction to the stranger to prolong his stay where he had found such an agreeable companion.

While reading Mr. Baldwin's diary* one is reminded of the famous English diarist, "Samuel Pepys," who describes and brings so vividly before us the manners and customs of the days of "Charles the Second," the so-called "Merry Monarch of England."

Under different conditions of place and circumstance, if Mr. Baldwin's life had been prolonged, we might have had a "Pepys" of the "New World," who would have left behind him a chronicle of New England life which would have favorably compared with the immortal work of the "diarist of old England."

To the members of the American Antiquarian Society, those who remember Mr. Baldwin are largely indebted for causing his diary to be published, a pleasant memento of that genial, kindly, merry-hearted gentleman.

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*The Diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin has lately been published by the American Antiquarian Society.

CORRECTIONS.

The house of Mr. Rejoice Newton was the second, not the first on Front street, and was later the residence of Osgood Bradley.

Mr. Daniel Waldo's office was in Granite block, not Waldo block.

Dr. Bancroft did caution the carpenter who was making the tablets not to have any "knots" in the wood. He did not tell him to leave out all the "nots."

The Gardner Chandler House.

This house stood opposite the Common, at the point where the land began to rise to the south, surrounded by twenty acres of land, most of which was in the rear of it, the whole property at Mr. Chandler's death being appraised at £1600.

It was built of wood and painted white, and stood quite far back from the street, with a lawn in front, divided by a pathway which led by a slight ascent to the front door, on each side of which were flower beds, the whole being surrounded by a wooden fence painted the same color as the house.

Originally this handsome old "colonial house" was, so I learn, only two stories high, but another was added after the property had passed from the "Chandler family." Judge Ira M. Barton occupied this house when I first remember it, so far as the main body of it was concerned, for on the north side was a large wing occupied by Mr. Samuel Allen and family. The rooms in the Barton side were small, but a very large room formed the wing on the ground floor (with upper rooms), from which there was access to the lower part of the main dwelling. It was in this room that the "Royalists" "gathered in conclave," before the breaking out of the Revolution. There was an

entrance door to the wing, and in front of it a lawn reached down to the street, there being no fence around it. This mansion was described by a passing traveller "as one of the handsomest which he had seen in the interior of the country."

The owner and builder of this house was Gardiner Chandler, son of John and Hannah Gardiner Chandler, and was born in Woodstock, Connecticut, in 1723, and died in Worcester in 1782. He was a "Royalist," of course, as all the family of that name were, and seems before the "Revolution" to have held many town offices, but he will be chiefly remembered as "High Sheriff of the County of Worcester," an office which he held for a period of thirteen years. He was married twice, first to Miss Hannah Greene of Providence, R. I., and their fourth child was Elizabeth Chandler, who married Mr. Nathaniel Paine, her first cousin, in 1785. "Betsey Chandler," she was styled in her father's "will." The Massachusetts Spy of December 22, 1785, announces that Mr. Nathaniel Paine was married to the amiable Miss Elizabeth Chandler on the 18th inst.

Mr. Paine, the son of Timothy and Sarah Chandler, his wife, was born in 1759 and died in Worcester in 1840, aged eighty years. He graduated from "Harvard College" in 1775, was a lawyer by profession, and held the office of Judge of Probate of Worcester County from 1801 to 1836. Mrs. Paine died in Worcester in 1830, aged sixty-five years, having had seven children, five of whom were living at her death. This lady was the daughter of my great, great uncle and wife of my great uncle.

Until recently I had in my possession a note from her in which were enclosed some verses cut from a newspaper, which she had sent me on my second birthday, they being addressed "to a child of two years of age."

The second wife of Sheriff Chandler was Ann Leonard of Norton, Massachusetts, and Mrs. Paine seems to have

named her first child for her, only Ann was changed to Nancy, for in former days the two bore the same signification. There is an amusing story told of this child. One day her mother sent her to invite some friends to tea, and incautiously said before her, "I wish to have them come and have it over." The little girl went forth on her mission, and gave the invitation, and then added, "Mother says she wants to have you come and have it over." Mr. C. C. Baldwin, who knew Mrs. Paine, refers to her as "an estimable and excellent lady." Sheriff Chandler left only one son, the only child of Ann Leonard, the second wife, and who married a cousin by the name of Greene. In reading what purports to be a copy of the "will" of Sheriff Chandler, I note he leaves to his daughter Betsey,

1 Green Suit, value £3.16.
1 Velvet Gold Laced Waistcoat, £2.02.
1 Crimson Coat, value $1.10.
And 1 pair Leather Breeches, value 18s.

It seems as if the son, Gardiner, should have had these articles, and I cannot help thinking that there must have been some mistake here, for in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1898, died Gertrude Cleveland Chandler, a great granddaughter of the Sheriff, and after a lapse of one hundred and sixteen years following his death, and the last of his descendants who bore the name of this ancient family, and among the large amount of Chandler property in which this lady had a life interest, was found after her death "a crimson velvet waistcoat," "laced with gold," and a scarlet coat or waistcoat, one of which your society now owns. They were in excellent preservation, and looking almost as fresh and in as good order as they did when Sheriff Chandler wore them when acting in his official capacity. It certainly seems unlikely that a man with a son should have bequeathed his "leather breeches" and his "green suit" to a daughter. Gardiner Leonard Chandler

had a son of the same name, and Miss Chandler was his daughter.

A collector of antique furniture would most certainly have "coveted his neighbor's goods" if he could have seen the old Chandler furniture, which became at Miss Chandler's death the property of another member of the family, though not of the same name. It may have formed a portion of the household effects at Worcester, or Ann Leonard may have brought it with her when she married the Sheriff, and have left it to her son. There were small tables almost black with age, but in perfect condition; a sideboard; a high chest of drawers, almost reaching to the ceiling, such as our grandmothers used; chairs, a work table, and small bureaus with brass handles, and other ancient articles too numerous to mention. Old brocades, too, formed part of this "treasure-trove."

There was beautiful old silver also, and some of it was brought to me, being one of the "Chandler clan," to see if I could identify some of the former owners of it by the marks on it. One piece seemed very old, and was of a quaint shape, being a long-handled spoon, and on the end of the handle was a round piece of silver about the size of a silver quarter of a dollar, which was three-sided. T. C.* was engraved on the handle of this spoon in large letters, but I could not make out who he could be, for although there are numerous people mentioned in the "Family Register" who could have used these initials, I could find no one of them connected with this family. So this ancient piece of silver will go down to generations yet unborn, and they will search for and never find to whom it formerly belonged, and T. C. will remain a myth and go down to posterity unknown, unheralded and unsung.

Now, will you in thought follow me to the home of Lucretia Chandler Bancroft, the niece of High Sheriff Chandler?

[*Possibly intended to be read J. C., meaning John Chandler.—Ed.]

The Bancroft House.

"The Parsonage" of Dr. Aaron Bancroft stood nearly in the middle of the eastern side of Main street, near Thomas, and directly on the sidewalk. It was a common looking, square wooden house, painted white, two stories high in front and three in the rear, for the land sloped so much from the street that there was ample room for the third story. Behind the house there was a large yard and garden. In one of the lower rooms in the rear, I went to school to Miss Lucretia Bancroft. In those days the family consisted of Dr. and Mrs. Bancroft and two daughters, the Misses Mary and Lucretia, the former being the domestic one of the family and the one who took charge of the household affairs.

There were thirteen children in all, but the above named are all I can recall there, as the others, being married or not living, were only at the house from time to time. One receives a pleasant impression of the home life after reading the notices of it in Mr. Baldwin's diary, the Doctor and his wife "playing backgammon of an evening" and the other members playing cards or entertaining their friends in other ways, or by their brilliant conversation. In former days most ministers were in straitened circumstances, and Dr. Bancroft was no exception to the rule, for at one time he had only $500 per year as his salary, and that often was partly paid in wood and produce; and so from the time his children grew up, they all lent a hand in helping their parents to support the household.

This was, however, a time "of plain living and high thinking," and if this family had not much of this world's goods, they were richly endowed with intellectual gifts and talents of a high order, added to which a large amount of common sense was vouchsafed to them. Mrs. Bancroft died in April, 1839, aged seventy-four years, and in August of the same year Dr. Bancroft passed away, in the

eighty-fourth year of his age. I recall the day of his funeral, which was on a warm, sultry day, and while not actually raining, a few drops of water fell from time to time, and I remember hearing someone among those who were present on the occasion saying: "Blessed is the corpse the rain rains upon." The funeral was in the afternoon, and from the time the procession left the house, the bell of the "Meeting House" was tolled until it reached "Rural Cemetery," and also while the service was going on in the church where the old minister had for so many years filled the pulpit, and where he now rested for a time in its vicinity on the way to his last home.

Those who saw Dr. Bancroft in his last sleep, as he was resting in his home for the last time, spoke of the sight being a most touching one, for beside the old man lay a little grandchild, a few months old, the child of one of his daughters, whose death had occurred on the day previous to that of her grandfather's. I have no recollection of Dr. Bancroft as a preacher, but I remember him very well, and his venerable appearance in the pulpit, with his long, white hair falling about him.

Mrs. Bancroft was Lucretia Chandler, the fifteenth child of John Chandler of Revolutionary fame, and was born in June, 1765, and was married to Dr. Bancroft in October, 1786.

I recall her distinctly, and remember what a bright looking old lady she was as she sat at work at the southwest window of her house, always dressed in black and wearing a white cap, round which was a band of some black material. She was of dark complexion, and her eyes black and sparkling with intellect and intelligence.

At this period Worcester was a small town, and almost every one of any note in it was related to each other. John Chandler, the grandfather of Mrs. Bancroft, and his wife, Hannah Gardiner, who were married in 1716, had

come down an immense family connection, most of whom were settled in Worcester and its vicinity.

Lincolns, Paines, Wards, Trumbulls, Bradishes, Bancrofts, Davises, Blakes, Chandlers, Severs, Burlings, Stantons and many others were all "kith and kin" to each other, and although the Waldos and Salisburys were of no blood relation, they were by the ties of intimacy and affection considered a portion of this great family circle—and I have heard my mother say that when she went to Worcester, in 1822, to reside, any party she attended was composed almost entirely of cousins.

So Mrs. Bancroft in her old age had plenty of company among her kinsfolk, for of all who passed her door, many went in to call, morning, noon or night, for the door was always "on the latch," and even if people did not enter, the old lady nodded and smiled as they passed, and thus kept her interest in her friends and relatives.

Dr. Bancroft was born in 1755, and in 1774 entered Harvard College. In 1783 he supplied the pulpit of the "Old South Meeting House" for a time, then the only church edifice in Worcester. In 1785 sixty-seven of its members seceded from that society, and, founding the "Second Parish," invited Dr. Bancroft to become their pastor, an office he retained for more than fifty-four years. In reference to a volume of sermons published by him in 1821, President John Adams, while acknowledging the receipt of a copy from the author, writes: "It is a chain of diamonds set in links of gold." He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College in 1810. Dr. Bancroft will chiefly be remembered, however, as one of the pioneers in the great exodus of ministers from the old Calvinistic faith to more liberal views of Christianity. Both Dr. Bancroft of Worcester and Dr. Thayer of Lancaster, "Fathers of Unitarianism" as they were called, are mentioned with other ministers in the history of those times as

"men of weight, whose impress lingers yet upon those towns."

In 1825 Dr. Bancroft, "one of the elders," as he is styled, accepted at the first meeting the Presidency of the "American Unitarian Association," which had its origin "not for sectarian purposes, but to promote the increase of religion in the land."

Notwithstanding the Bancrofts had so large a family, not a single descendant is living in Worcester to keep their names in remembrance, and only five grandsons are living elsewhere. Miss Mary Bancroft, who resembled her father in personal appearance more than the other members of the family did, was the last one of the family who bore the name who lived and died in her native town, for after her home was broken up, she rented part of a house which stood, and may, perhaps, still stand, on Main street, on the opposite corner to Sykes' Tavern, and here she died in 1844, aged fifty-one years.*

"And the places which knew them will know them no more."

Following the reading of the papers, remarks were made by Messrs. Dickinson, Williamson, C. E. Staples and Abbot.

Mr. Dickinson referred to the old custom followed in many places of tolling the bell to publicly announce the death of an individual. That the age and sex of the person was indicated by strokes on the bell, three being given for a child, six for an adult female, and nine for an adult male person.

*A number of great grandchildren are living, and I believe a few great, great grandchildren.—Ed.

Mr. Williamson in his remarks called attention to a carved head to be found over the entrance to a stairway near the south corner of Market and Main streets, a relic of the primitive days in that locality. He then presented his report as treasurer of the Marblehead Excursion Committee, showing all bills paid and a balance left of two dollars and ten cents, which amount was passed over to the Treasurer of the Society.

Mr. George Maynard was then presented and read his report of the trip to Marblehead, Mass.

FIELD DAY AT MARBLEHEAD.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In behalf of our Excursion Committee, I tender you the following report of our Society's late trip to Marblehead:

It was voted at the May meeting that the matter of our Annual Field Day should be left to a committee, to be appointed by the President, and, as a result of that action, the following persons have served in that capacity: Mr. M. A. Maynard, chairman; Mr. C. F. Darling, Mr. F. E. Williamson, Mr. George Maynard. So far as we are personally concerned, we have only to say that we have endeavored to do our duty, and would thank the members of the Society for the co-operation they have given us.

The town of Oxford had been mentioned as a likely place for our excursion, but after a visit to the place, we came to the conclusion that it would be better to select some other objective point for our Field Day, and reserve the nearer town of Oxford, interesting as it will always be, for an autumnal outing, which at any time might be easily taken in a half day.

It was then proposed to visit Marblehead, and this idea met with so much favor that we finally agreed to select this place for the excursion.

In furtherance of our plans, the chairman, accompanied by Mr. Darling, went over the route, and made such arrangements as seemed best with the railway officials, the hotel people and other prominent citizens of Marblehead.

It was decided that tickets from Worcester to Marblehead and return should be sold for the sum of $2.25, and that a dinner should be provided for such as desired at the Hotel Nanepashemet, on Marblehead Neck, at a cost of 75 cents per plate. Notices of these arrangements were mailed to the members of the Society, and at the June meeting the undersigned gave a short description of the points of interest to be visited in Marblehead, and some facts in relation to the town's history. It was announced that the excursion would take place, weather permitting, on Saturday, June 15th.

The day selected dawned somewhat inauspiciously, with a chilling east wind and a cloudy sky, but later on this was considerably changed for the better, and, on the whole, it proved a fairly good day for our trip.

Promptly at 7 o'clock that morning our party left Worcester, via the Boston & Albany Railroad, it being composed of the following 65 persons:

Hon. E. B. Crane,
Major William T. Harlow,
Miss Margaret Harlow,
Chas. C. Baldwin,
M. G. White,
Miss A. M. White,
Mr. and Mrs. O. M. Ball,
Hon. George M. Rice,
H. G. Otis,
B. F. Felt,

Mrs. Josiah Pickett,
Mrs. T. S. Johnson,
Mrs. E. T. Raymond,
Miss Mary C. Stone,
Charles E. Staples,
Miss Mary A. Smith,
Miss Mary E. Grover,
Mrs. George A. Smith,
George L. Bigelow,
Mrs. A. R. Parsons,
Mrs. H. A. Hovey,
Mrs. E. J. Brittain,
Mrs. Charles W. Chamberlin,
Mrs. James Weeks,
S. Warren Hobbs,
W. H. Brown,
Dr. and Mrs. George F. Forbes,
Miss A. M. Moore,
Mrs. M. E. Tenney of Torrington, Conn.
Mr. and Mrs. F. E. Williamson,
Miss Lizzie McFarland,
Miss Charlotte McFarland,
Miss Emma Buckley,
Miss Mary Spring,
Dr. and Mrs. F. L. Banfield,
Mrs. J. B. Shattuck,
Mrs. H. J. Heslor,
Mr. and Mrs. F. E. Kimball,
Mrs. E. Warner,
Miss H. Gertrude Turner,
Miss Helen A. Goodspeed,
Mrs. E. A. Morse,
Miss Cora L. Morse,
Mr. and Mrs. M. A. Maynard,
Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Eaton,

Mrs. George H. Ward,
Miss Mary Stewart,
Mr. and Mrs. C. F. Darling,
Mr. and Mrs. George W. Hubbard,
Miss Sadie Dewhurst,
Miss Bessie Dewhurst,
Miss Svea Boson,
E. N. Goddard,
A. C. Munroe,
George E. Arnold,
George Maynard.

At Boston the following persons joined us: Mr. H. M. Wheeler, Mrs. G. A. Eaton, Miss Adeline May of Leicester, and at Lynn we also met Hon. Alfred S. Roe of the Society.

Our passage to Boston was pleasant but uneventful, and on our arrival at the South Terminal in that city, at 8.30, we took special electric cars of the Boston Elevated Railway Co., surface line, for the corner of Portland and Hanover streets, where the final stage of the journey was commenced by our boarding two special cars for an 18-mile ride over the Lynn & Boston Electric Railway.

Leaving Boston at 9 o'clock, we went out by way of Charlestown, Chelsea, Revere, Lynn and Swampscott, through a country rich in historical associations. The towering shaft on Bunker Hill reminded us of another June day, whose history was writ in blood, and whose memory shall live forever.

Revere reminds us of that sturdy patriot of the olden day, whose famous ride has been celebrated in the immortal lines of Longfellow. On our right we notice an old tavern that certainly looks as if it might have a history, but there is no one at hand to relate it, and we pass along.

A large part of our journey lies across salt marshes, where our track for miles lies straight as that famous railway line from St. Petersburg to Moscow, the course for

which the Emperor is said to have indicated to the engineers by one stroke of his pencil along the straight edge of his ruler.

Far away in the distance, beyond the level, on our left, rise steep, rocky hills, forest-crowned, while to the right an occasional vista of rare beauty opens out oceanward over the blue waters.

> "An islet anchored and held to land
> By a glistening foam-fringed ribbon of sand,—
> That is Nahant, and that hoary ledge
> To the left is Egg Rock, like a blunted wedge,
> Cleaving the ocean's breast,
> And bearing the lighthouse on its crest."

We pass on through Swampscott, and at length enter the territory of Marblehead. With all its rocks, the old town possesses some fine farming lands, and a view out across the cultivated fields, with their long, straight rows of green vegetation, is a pleasant sight.

Soon we pass the site of the Devereux mansion, celebrated by Longfellow, and in a few minutes we notice on our right the monument erected to the memory of Captain James Mugford of Revolutionary fame, and his heroic crew, captors of the British powder-ship in Boston harbor.

We arrived in Marblehead at 10.45 o'clock, and, on alighting from the cars, were greeted by Hon. Samuel S. Roads, Jr., the well-known historian of Marblehead, who, during our entire stay in the town, gave us his untiring personal attention, and to whose courtesy and perfect knowledge of the places we visited we feel under deep obligations.

Under Mr. Roads' guidance, we immediately proceeded to Abbot Hall, the principal public building of Marblehead, which, crowned by a lofty tower, and situated on the highest land in the peninsula upon which the town is built, stands conspicuous from every point of view of the place.

This hall, erected in 1877, by the munificence of Benjamin Abbot, a native of Marblehead, but later a successful Boston merchant, contains much of interest. There is the splendid painting by the artist, Willard, known as "Yankee Doodle, or the Spirit of '76," copies of which are familiar to everyone. This remarkable work of art, which is said to have cost $20,000, was presented to the town by General John H. Devereux, whose son's face is said to have been faithfully copied by the artist in one of the figures of the picture. Another large picture in the same room represents William, Prince of Orange, disposing of the crown jewels to carry on the War of the Netherlands. Our attention was also called to the bust of Elbridge Gerry, a native of the town, and who was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and afterwards Vice-President of the United States, being the second Massachusetts man who held that high office. In the adjoining room hangs framed a curious document in the shape of the original Indian deed of the tract of land on which the town stands, given in 1684, while many other ancient documents connected with Marblehead history are stored here for safe preservation. Nor, among the relics, would we forget the ancient cannon, a prize from the Spanish war, and which may have thundered from the ramparts of some old-time fortress long before Marblehead was known in history.

Leaving Abbot Hall, our attention was called to the house opposite, which was the birthplace of Samuel Hooper, a prominent citizen of the olden time, and further on we saw the home of Colonel William R. Lee of Revolutionary fame.

We next visited the old Lee mansion, now occupied by the Marblehead Banks. It was built by Colonel Jeremiah Lee, a staunch patriot of the Revolution. He was one of those who assembled at the Black Horse Tavern, in Arlington, on the night prior to the Battle of Lexington, and suffered so much from exposure to the weather that night

that he contracted a cold which resulted fatally. This building is in a remarkable state of preservation, the materials for its construction having been brought over from England, and upon its walls may yet be seen the original wall paper, while the carved woodwork is very fine. The building, which was erected in 1768, cost $40,000, and was the finest specimen of colonial architecture in this section of the country. Here General Washington was entertained once, Lafayette twice, and it was also visited by Presidents Monroe and Andrew Jackson.

At this point, Hon. A. S. Roe of our Society took occasion to formally introduce Colonel Roads to the assembly in a few felicitous remarks, which were greeted with applause.

We next visited the "King Hooper" house, now occupied by the Young Men's Christian Association. This was, in the olden day, the home of the Hon. Robert Hooper, Esquire, a very wealthy merchant of those times, who received the sobriquet of "King" presumably because he was a royal good fellow. In the Revolution he was a loyalist, and had been in the habit of here entertaining the Royal Governor. The date of this house is not known, but it was erected prior to 1753.

We next visited the home of Commodore Nicholson Broughton of Revolutionary fame. The woodwork of this house is very elaborate and peculiar, especially the hand-carved banisters, and one of the rooms is finished off to represent a ship's cabin.

Not far distant we passed the well-preserved home of Thomas Robie, a prominent loyalist of the Revolution, who, for his opinions, was driven out of town by the patriotic citizens and forced to flee to Nova Scotia. His wife, who was evidently a spirited woman, is said to have remarked, as they quit the place, that she hoped when she returned the streets would be so full of rebel blood that a long-boat might be rowed through

them. In after years she did return, but her former declaration was remembered, and her advent well nigh caused a riot.

We now proceeded to the famous St. Michael's Church, to which I alluded at our June meeting as celebrated in Whittier's poem of "The Landmarks." This building, erected in 1714, from materials brought from England, was the third Episcopal church erected in Massachusetts—King's Chapel in Boston and that in Newburyport being its only predecessors. The funds for its erection were in large part contributed by the masters of the vessels lying in the harbor, the residue being made up by the residents of the town and members of the parish. During the Revolution it was closed, as most of its communicants were loyalists, but was opened again in 1780. At the opening of the war, the rector, Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks, was obliged to flee to Nova Scotia. The architecture of the church is very quaint, but beautiful even today. In 1888 the church was restored by frescoing the walls, and the insertion of beautiful memorial windows, one of which was the gift of the Massachusetts Senate of that year. The ancient pews, in which our party had the privilege of resting while our guide and the worthy rector of the church entertained us with its history, the old reredos coeval with the building of the structure, the old tablets containing the creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, and the ancient chandelier, were objects of much curiosity. The communion plate of the church bears the date of 1745. Upon the walls there is painted a cross, surmounted by these words: "In this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of Hosts." Rev. David Mossom, a former rector of this church, officiated at the marriage of General Washington to the widow, Custis. In this church the first chanting in America was done.

On leaving the church we noticed the diminutive ceme-

tery lying by its side, with its curious tombstones, in memory of the old-time worthies.

We next proceeded to the old Town House, erected in 1728, known as the Faneuil Hall of Marblehead. Here, during the Revolution and the troublous times preceding, the citizens held their memorable meetings, and from here Colonel Glover and his famous regiment of Marbleheaders marched to deeds of daring, that will live in fadeless glory on the annals of our War for Independence. Had it not been for their presence at the disastrous retreat from Long Island, the American cause would have been irretrievably lost, so that Marblehead can justly boast that American liberty was due to the valor of her sons.

Opposite this hall stands the birthplace of Associate Justice Story, and not far away we saw the home of Captain Trevett, who had a command at the Battle of Bunker Hill.

A little further on, our attention was called to the home of Major John Pedrick, who, during the Revolution, loaned the Continental Congress a large sum of money. After the war, they paid him in the depreciated Continental money, and the worthy Major finally used it to paper the walls of one of the rooms of his house!

Near by, an old house erected in 1742 is pointed out as the birthplace of Elbridge Gerry.

On our left we see the Old North Church, a fine stone structure, erected about 1818; and close by is the home of Colonel Azor Orne, a member of the Provincial Congress, and who is said to have been the most eloquent man that Marblehead ever produced.

We next visited the site of the Old Fountain Inn, of which nothing now remains save the old well. This was the opening scene in that most romantic story of Agnes Surriage, a story which proves the oft-quoted assertion, that truth is stranger than fiction. At least, in her case, it was as strange as anything the romancers have given us.

To quote the words of the historian: "It certainly was a triumph and a fortune such as this world seldom witnesses, that the daughter of a poor fisherman of Marblehead should come, by such strange circumstances, to move in the aristocratic circles of the Franklands, Pelhams, Scarboroughs, Pitts and Walpoles, which at that period exercised such influence over the destinies of the most powerful empire in the world." Those who are disposed to read the story can find it in detail in Holmes' famous poem entitled "Agnes," in Bynner's novel of "Agnes Surriage," and the Rev. Elias Nason's account of "Sir Charles Henry Frankland, Baronet." The story is also told in Garrett's "Romance and Reality of the Puritan Coast," and in Drake's "New England Legends."

We now proceeded to the Old Burial Hill, passing by the birthplace of "Moll Pitcher," the celebrated "Fortune Teller of Lynn," and which was the home of her father, the eccentric "Old Dimond," whose history I have referred to at our previous meeting.

By this time our party had become convinced that Marblehead was founded upon a rock, and could appreciate the remark of the celebrated Whitefield, when, on his first sight of the town, he exclaimed in astonishment: "Where do they bury their dead?" The old town is indeed securely anchored, and the waves of untold ages beating against its shores have not been able to wear away the solid granite that grimly rises above them. Amid the scanty earth in the depressions between the rocks of the Burial Hill the early settlers of the town are resting in their last repose, while the crumbling stones above them bear quaint inscriptions telling the story of their lives and virtues, some of which can scarcely be read without a smile by the pilgrim of today. We should have been glad to linger here much longer than we did, but time forbade, and after a brief glance at some of the more interesting monuments, we retraced our steps to the town.

Stopping in front of an ancient building, our guide said: "With all the wealth of history there is in Marblehead, there is not a place that I love to speak of better than this. The man who lived here was a very eccentric character, who went about the streets summer and winter clad in an old long ulster. He kept a little grocery store, and chalked his accounts on the window, where everybody who passed by could read them. The old man thought he was an artist, and he painted wonderful pictures of green cows eating red grass. He had no idea whatever of proportion. The people maligned him. The boys called after him in the streets. But when he died, it was discovered, to the great surprise of the people of Marblehead, that he had left the bulk of his property to the town, to comfort the sick and the unhappy. His house was left as a Home for Aged Ladies. And it was found that during all those years, when he was so much misunderstood, he had been in the habit of going to the grocers, butchers and other tradesmen of the town and paying for goods to be delivered to the needy, giving strict orders that his name should not be divulged. That man was Moses Allen Pickett."

Proceeding from this place to a point near the water's edge, our leader informed us that on this beach occurred the first landing of British troops on American soil with hostile intent. This was prior to the Battle of Lexington, when the expedition under the command of Colonel Leslie was made to Salem for the purpose of capturing military stores supposed to be concealed there, and which was there frustrated by the redoubtable Colonel Timothy Pickering and his troops, who had assembled at the old North Bridge to meet and check the invaders. On their return, they found the Marblehead regiment drawn up ready to receive them, and had it been known that they had committed any overt act in Salem, not a man of them would probably have ever reached Boston.

He also told of the days when Marblehead was a resort

of pirates, and how the notorious Quelch came here and was captured by Major Joseph Sewall, in 1704.

He likewise rehearsed the story of the English lady who was brought ashore at this place and barbarously murdered by the pirates, and whose fearful screams for mercy were believed to have been heard on the anniversary of that event for over 150 years afterwards.

From this point, looking up Circle street, the house once occupied by Skipper Benjamin Ireson, the "Old Floyd Ireson" of Mr. Whittier's famous poem, is plainly visible. Mr. Roads, calling our attention to the house, gave an interesting version of the story of the skipper's alleged desertion of the sinking wreck off Truro, on Cape Cod, which occurred in the autumn of 1808, and for which he was, according to Whittier's verse,

> "Tarred and feathered and carried in a cart
> By the women of Marblehead."

Mr. Roads declared that the women of Marblehead had no hand in the affair at all, and that when, in after time, the men who had impetuously done the deed, found out that they had maltreated an innocent man, they repented, though too late, of their action. At the time, there happened to be a wag in this town, who was always making up verses, and he invented the lines about Ireson, which, having been repeated to Whittier, furnished the basis for his poem, which gave great offence in Marblehead, where Skipper Ireson was then living. To-day his grandsons and granddaughters are living there still, among the most respected citizens of the town, and they and the people of Marblehead in general do not feel particularly edified to hear their grandmothers, who were among the best people of New England, maligned, even by a great poet. As we listened to the words of our guide, we could but feel somewhat of the spirit of the lines of a later day poet, in

A Plea for Flood Ireson.*

Old Flood Ireson ! all too long
Have jeer and jibe and ribald song
Done thy memory cruel wrong.

Old Flood Ireson, bending low
Under the weight of years and woe,
Crept to his refuge long ago.

Old Flood Ireson sleeps in his grave;
Howls of a mad mob, worse than the wave,
Now no more his ear shall rave!

* * * * * * * *

Gone is the pack and gone the prey,
Yet old Flood Ireson's ghost to-day
Is hunted still down Time's highway.

Old wife Fame, with a fish-horn's blare,
Hooting and tooting the same old air,
Drags him along the old thoroughfare.

Mocked evermore with the old refrain,
Skillfully wrought to a tuneful strain,
Jingling and jolting he comes again

Over that road of old renown,
Fair, broad avenue, leading down
Through South Fields to Salem town,

Scourged and stung by the Muses' thong,
Mounted high on the car of song,
Sight that cries, O Lord ! how long

Shall heaven look on and not take part
With the poor old man and his fluttering heart
Tarred and feathered and carried in a cart ?

Old Flood Ireson, now when Fame
Wipes away with tears of shame
Stains from many an injured name,

Shall not, in the tuneful line,
Beams of truth and mercy shine
Through the clouds that darken thine ?

*This poem, written by Charles Timothy Brooks, is quoted by permission of Houghton, Mifflin & Co., from "Poems of Places," published by them.

Take henceforth, perturbèd sprite,
From the fever and the fright,
Take the rest—thy well-earned right.

Along the track of that hard ride
The form of Penitence oft shall glide,
With tender Pity by her side;

And their tears that mingling fall
On the dark record they recall,
Shall cleanse the stain and expiate all.

Passing along the street we noticed the old warehouses where the merchants stored their goods during the Embargo of 1808, and also the old Tucker House, said to be the most ancient in town, and which is certainly more than 250 years old.

We had now arrived at the steam ferry, and our party were soon aboard the little steamer Blonde, which plies between the old town and Marblehead Neck, where we arrived at about half-past one o'clock, and went up to the Hotel Nanepashemet, where we were cordially welcomed by the landlady, Mrs. E. G. Brown, and regaled with an excellent repast.

At its conclusion, Hon. E. B. Crane, President of our Society, arose, and referred to the valuable services which Colonel Roads had rendered our party in acting as guide, and how much they had added to the pleasure of the Worcester people in their visit to this old historic town; and said it would seem that something was due to him for his kind attentions.

Dr. George F. Forbes then moved that the thanks of this Society be extended to Colonel Roads for his services in escorting us during the day, and the motion was adopted by a unanimous vote.

Hon. Samuel Roads, Jr., of Marblehead, then spoke substantially as follows:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: There are in Marblehead quite a number of points of interest still left,

which you might find worthy of visiting, but they are so far distant that we should hardly have time. One interesting place which you could visit is the rooms of the Historical Society, which is an institution of recent origin, established only two years ago. Last spring we had about 175 articles on exhibition; now there are 700. Another place that would be worth visiting is the home of Commodore Samuel Tucker, near the Catholic Church. There are places here on Marblehead Neck worth visiting, because of their natural beauty. Marblehead was a great resort for the Indians, and thousands and thousands of unfinished arrow heads have been found here on the rocks. Then the Great Head down here is a very famous resort for people who like to get a good view of the ocean, and that great natural curiosity, "The Churn." That is a very interesting place, but your time is so limited that we shall hardly be able to visit it. But I hope that at some future time you will again come to Marblehead. I thank you very much for your kind attention. If you have enjoyed your visit, I want to assure you that I, also, have done so. (Applause.)

President Crane, in introducing the next speaker, said:

"It has been difficult for me to realize that Worceser is to-day what Marblehead was to the Commonwealth a century ago—the second town in the State. The change is marked. We have another man with us whose name is not Roads, but it comes pretty near it—Hon. Alfred S. Roe."

After the applause which greeted his name had subsided, Mr. Roe spoke in substance as follows:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I want to congratulate the party in having Colonel Roads here today. He has heard all the interesting traditions of this old town, and he has embodied them into very fine history. I should like to talk upon some of the subjects which he has not referred to. One hundred and sixty years ago, when Pep-

perell was fitting out his expedition to Louisburg, this town was active, and in the succeeding wars her sailors committed great depredations upon British commerce. In the War of 1812 these coast towns did wonderful work, and Marblehead was not lost in the number. In 1814 the old Constitution came into this harbor, pursued by a British vessel. She knew how to get into safe places. I suppose Colonel Roads can tell us where the fight took place between the Chesapeake and the Shannon, within plain sight of where we now are. In 1861 the Governor came to this place and warned the regiment to be ready to march to war. The story here is told that Captain Knott V. Martin was found busily engaged in butchering a hog. When he received the message, he stopped in the midst of his work, and, leaving everything, started off to obey the martial summons. The Marblehead men arrived at the seat of war in time to rescue the old ship Constitution from destruction at Annapolis. Marblehead has been instant on all these occasions. In Abbot Hall we saw that great painting of "Yankee Doodle, or the Spirit of '76," executed by the great artist, Willard. I would go further to see that than any painting in America. It was exhibited at Philadelphia and elsewhere, and finally it comes down to Marblehead, and here finds a fitting lodgment. I would come here to see that, if for no other purpose. We are glad, all of us, to have heard that explanation which Colonel Roads has given us of Skipper Ireson's story. Let us spread the truth as far as we can. I thank you, my friends, very much for your kind attention. I should like to say more, but time will not permit.

Mr. Roe's remarks were followed by applause, after which the company retired to the hotel piazza, from whence a most delightful view of old Ocean was obtained, which alone was worth all our time and trouble in coming to Marblehead. Some of us wandered down over the huge porphyry ledges to the water's edge, in search of curiosities,

regardless of our worthy President's warning that our steamer would leave on its return trip at 3 o'clock. At length, however, the party strayed back to the landing, and had another delightful sail back to the town proper, arriving there about 3.30 P. M.

We immediately went to the rooms of the Marblehead Historical Society, where we were cordially welcomed by its genial President, Mr. Nathan P. Sanborn, who, during our half-hour's stay there, did his utmost to entertain us, among other things giving the party an interesting explanation of the use of a ship's log-line in determining a vessel's position at sea.

The Society's collection, now numbering between 700 and 800 articles, is very interesting, and the President said their only regret was that some one had not begun that line of work a hundred years ago, when Marblehead was full of articles of interest. Among other things, he called special attention to several chairs, which came from the old Governor Hancock mansion in Boston, and were of very fine workmanship. They were purchased at auction there, many years ago, by Mr. Freeman Chambers of this town, and, descending through that family, finally came into possession of the town, and were now loaned to the Society. They also have a mortar and pestle that belonged to Judge Sewall, and some bricks from a church in Manila, which was partially demolished by Admiral Dewey's guns in the famous battle with the Spanish fleet. The mortar between the bricks is filled with small seashells. It is noted as a curious fact that the vessel on which this relic was brought to this country was loaded with hemp, and that during the voyage the price of that commodity had doubled, owing to the war. There are also kept here many relics of the old-time life in Marblehead—the spinning-wheel, the shoemaker's kit, and many things peculiar to a seafaring people, while overhead hangs suspended a life-like model of a cod-

fish, made about one hundred years ago by a Marblehead fisherman from the end of a spar. The man who made it, with a jackknife, must have been a born artist, and it is fully as much of a curiosity as the "sacred codfish" at the State House in Boston.

After leaving this place, our party rambled around awhile, looking over the quaint old town, whose strangely winding streets have been the scene of so many stirring events, and catching a glimpse of old Fort Sewall, which once commanded the harbor, but is now dismantled.

The two great fires which Marblehead suffered, in 1877 and 1888, and which together destroyed more than 125 buildings, and inflicted a property loss of more than a million dollars, were a serious blow to the town's prosperity, from the crippling effects of which it will take long years to recover. Here and there ruined walls still rise, as sad mementos of those days of loss and peril.

At about 5 o'clock we bid our Marblehead friends adieu, and returned to Boston by the same route by which we had come in the morning; and arriving there at 7 o'clock, the larger number of the party took the next Boston & Albany train for Worcester, arriving here at about 8.15 P. M. in fine spirits, and hoping that our next visit to Marblehead may be at no very distant day.

For the Committee,

GEORGE MAYNARD.

EARLY WORCESTER FAMILIES.

The small superior figure indicates the generation.

Robert Harrington[1], born in England, 1616, embarked from there April 10, 1634, in ship Elizabeth, and settled in Watertown,* Mass., where he was given a "homestall" by Deacon Thomas Hastings, who was probably his kinsman.

Mr. Harrington's name appears last on the list of proprietors of Watertown, made 1642 to 1644, at which time he owned the above mentioned "homestall." Oct. 1, 1648, he married Susan, or Susanna, George, daughter of John George of Watertown, deceased. She was then an orphan, the widow of Henry Goldstone being her guardian. She died July 6, 1694. He was admitted freeman May 27, 1663, and died May 11, 1707, aged 91 years.

His will, dated January 1, 1704-5, mentions sons, John, Daniel, Benjamin, Samuel, Thomas and Edward. To the latter, his youngest son, he gave the homestead. His will also mentions daughters, Susanna Beers, Mary Bemis, Sarah Winship; his grandson, Joseph, son of Joseph, deceased, and daughter-in-law, Joanna Ward, late wife of his deceased son, Joseph.

His inventory mentions sixteen lots of land, amounting to 647 1-2 acres, appraised at £717. The estate included house and mill, valued at £120.

Children of Robert and Susan (George) Harrington:

1—Susanna, b. Aug. 18, 1649, m. Feb. 9, 1671, John Cutting.

2—*John, b. Aug. 24, 1651, d. Aug. 24, 1741.

3—Robert, b. Aug. 31, 1653, d. young.

4—George, b. Nov. 24, 1655, was in Capt. Samuel Wadsworth's Co., and killed by Indians, Lancaster, February, 1675-6.

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*American Ancestry, Vol. IX, Page 99.

5—Daniel, b. Nov. 1, 1657, freeman April 18, 1690, d. April 19, 1728.

6—Joseph, b. Dec. 28, 1659, freeman April 18, 1690.

7—Benjamin, b. Jan. 26, 1661-2, d. 1724.

8—Mary, b. Jan. 12, 1663-4, m. John Bemis.

9—Thomas, b. April 20, 1665, freeman April 18, 1690, d. March 29, 1712.

10—Samuel, b. Dec. 18, 1666.

11—*Edward[2], b. March 2, 1668-9.

12—Sarah, b. March 10, 1670-1, m. Joseph Winship, Jr., Nov. 24, 1687, and d. Nov. 28, 1710.

13—David, b. June 1, 1673, d. March 11, 1675.

*Edward[2] m. 1st, March 30, 1692, Mary Ocington; 2d, May 24, 1727, Anna, widow of Jonathan Bullard of Weston, Mass.; was selectman of Watertown, 1716-30-31.

Children:

1—Mary, b. Jan. 2, 1692-3, m. Daniel Rogers Dec. 7, 1710.

2—William, b. Nov. 11, 1694, d. Feb. 27, 1751-2.

3—Mindwell, b. June 19, 1697, d. Oct. 14, 1700.

4—*Joanna, b. Aug. 16, 1699, m. John Taintor, May 25, 1720.

5—Edward, b. June 17, 1702, d. Dec. 6, 1792.

6—*Samuel[3], b. Aug. 3, 1704.

7—Nathaniel, b. June 25, 1706, H. C. 1728, known as "Master Harrington."

8—*Francis[3], b. June 11, 1709, m. Prudence Stearns.

9—Susanna, b. Sept. 9, 1711, m. Samuel Barnard; her son, Samuel, was one of the Boston Tea Party and a major in the Revolutionary War.

*Two of Joanna's[3] sons, John[4] and Samuel[4], were soldiers at Lake George, 1758.

*Samuel Harrington[3], born Aug. 3, 1704, brother of Francis, married Oct. 19, 1725, Sarah Warren. He was called of Waltham and had:

1—*Samuel, bapt. May 19, 1728.

2—Mary, bapt. May 19, 1728, and may have had others. See Bond's Genealogies of Watertown, Page 280.

Elijah, b. 1734, who was in Worcester before 1768, may have been a son.

*Samuel Harrington[4]. He was called of Worcester in 1776, at which time his daughter, Hannah, married Daniel Maynard of Shrewsbury. He very likely was here prior to April 19, 1775, when his son Samuel marched from Worcester in Capt. Timothy Bigelow's company for Lexington.

Children:

1—*Samuel, b. 1754, m. Silence Robinson. He d. 1838, aged 84.

2—Hannah, b. 1757, m. Daniel Maynard, lived in Shrewsbury.

3—*Noah, b. Feb. 2, 1760, m. Lois Kingsley.

And may have had:

4—Joshua.

5—Jubal.

*Samuel Harrington[5] married, Nov. 19, 1782, Mrs. Silence Robinson, at Dorchester, Mass., where they first settled, and there all but one of their children were born. He marched from Worcester on the alarm at Lexington, April 19, 1775, in Capt. Timothy Bigelow's company of Worcester men, and served twenty-three days in Col. Artemas Ward's regiment. Was also private in Capt. Thomas Whipple's company, Col. Abijah Stearns' regiment; enlisted March 30, 1778, and served to July 2, 1778, three months and three days, guarding troops of convention; mileage 91 miles allowed. Roll sworn to in Worcester county. He came with his family to Worcester about the year 1796; here his youngest son was born, Sept. 1, that year.

1—Susanna, b. Feb. 12, 1783, m. Abel Flagg Oct. 31, 1802.

2—Samuel, b. Oct. 3, 1784, m. Nancy White, April 23, 1812.

3—Lucretia, b. Aug. 21, 1786, m. John Baird Dec. 25, 1800.

4—James, b. June 23, 1788, m. Esther Flagg April 25, 1821.

5—Sarah, b. April 12, 1790, m. John Gleason, Peter White.

6—Ebenezer, b. Sept. 22, 1792.

7—Mary, b. Aug. 24, 1794, m. Samuel Perry.

8—Austin, b. Sept. 1, 1796.

*Noah Harrington[5], born Feb. 2, 1760, died July 18, 1832, aged 72 years. He served as matross in Col. Timothy Craft's regiment artillery, Capt. William Todd's Eighth Massachusetts company, Feb. 1 to May 8. 1776, three months and seven days. Quite likely it was he who served six months in Captain Sibley's company, Colonel Keyes' regiment, mustered Aug. 18. Also private in Capt. Joseph Sibley's company, Col. Danforth Keyes' regiment, enlisted July 20, 1777, served one month. Roll dates North Kingston; also same company and regiment from Dec. 1, 1777, to Jan. 2, 1778, one month and two days, at Rhode Island. Roll dated Providence. Also may have served in the Continental army, July 5 to Dec. 6, 1780, under Captain Dix, for Rutland, afterward enlisting for three years; 5 ft. 11 in. tall and of light complexion. He married, July 27, 1784, Lois, daughter of Enoch Kingsley. She was born Sept. 12, 1760, and died Oct. 11, 1820, aged 54. They first settled in Shrewsbury, where three children were born to them; came to Worcester about 1792 and lived on the Grafton road where it passes quite near the Boston & Albany Railroad tracks. He with his brother Samuel kept a tavern in Boston on the site of the present Adams House.

Children were:

1—*Lydia, b. Dec. 25, 1784, bapt. March 6, 1785.

2—William, b. 1786, bapt. Oct. 28, 1787, d. in infancy.

3—Hannah, bapt. Sept. 23, 1792, d. young.

4—Samuel, d. young.
5—*William, b. Feb. 25, 1788, d. Feb. 12, 1871.
6—Luke, b. Sept. 12, 1789, d. Nov. 1, 1855.
7—Samuel, b. 1797, d. April 4, 1855.
8—Eliza, b. 1800, m. Mr. Shay and d. July 17, 1869.
9—Thomas J., b. Jan. 27, 1804, d. July 5, 1888.
10—Hannah, b. July 17, 1809, m. Henry Tower and d. March 23, 1853.

*William Harrington[6] married Abigail Adaline Stowell, daughter of Peter and Elizabeth Stowell. She was born March 15, 1799. Mr. Harrington passed his youthful days on his father's farm, and when a young man attempted to master the trade of a mason. While at work on the original Exchange building on Main street near Exchange street, when the brick walls were up to their full height, the staging on which young Harrington and others were at work gave way, and all the workmen were thrown to the ground. Several were severely injured. Young Harrington was picked up for dead and carried across Main street and laid in the yard of Mr. Hampton, corner of Walnut street. After a few minutes Mrs. Hampton discovered signs of life, when every effort was used to save him. His knee was crushed in the fall, and after a long confinement to the house, lasting five years, the limb was amputated by Dr. John Green. Soon as he had recovered from the operation he attended the Leicester Academy and fitted for a teacher, and taught school in the central Worcester district, in the wooden schoolhouse that stood on the Common near the corner of Park and Salem streets. Charles Stiles, George Bancroft, Stephen Salisbury, father of the present Hon. Stephen Salisbury, and Henry W. Miller attended his school. He then kept a store on the site now occupied by the Piper block; also engaged in keeping a tavern at corner Salem and Park streets, and finally opened the store at the place now known as Harrington corner. Flour sold in 1812 here at

$25 a barrel. He resided on Park street, near Salem street. He died Feb. 12, 1871, aged 82 years, 11 months and 17 days.

Children were:

1—Frances A., b. Oct. 4, 1821.

2—*William Henry, b. April 29, 1824.

3—Chauncey Goodrich, b. June 30, 1826.

The latter married, 1st, Lois Ann Harrington of Millbury; 2d, Harriet Elizabeth Bemis.

*William Henry Harrington[7] married, 1st, Lucy Forbes of Millbury, and had one son to reach mature age, William Harrington, now a resident of Worcester. After the death of his first wife, Mr. Harrington married, 2d, Mrs. Bemis. Mr. Harrington was manufacturer, and for many years operated the plant known as the Berlin mills, where he manufactured woolens. Prior to this he manufactured wrenches at the old Junction shop. About 1855 he bought out the business of Calvin Witherbee in Millbury, where he continued making monkey-wrenches, chisels and drawing-knives. After the beginning of the Civil War made bayonets for the government. A Mr. Heald was interested with him in starting business at the Berlin mills. Also the Atlanta mills in Millbury.

*Lydia Harrington[6] married Mr. Sibley of Millbury, and was the mother of Mr. Charles Sibley, the venerable and popular deputy sheriff and crier of the court.

Josiah Harrington[5], who purchased land in Worcester of Cornelius Durant May 21, 1754, was of Waltham, Mass., born June 12, 1709. Was son of John Harrington, an elder brother of Edward, the father of Francis, and married May 20, 1730, Dinah Flagg, youngest child of Allen Flagg, who was brother of Benjamin Flagg, one of the early settlers of Worcester, and who died here May 3, 1741. His widow, who was Experience Child, died 1747.

The above Josiah and Dinah (Flagg) Harrington had:

1—Huldah, bapt. Sept. 25, 1731.

2—Dinah, bapt. May 20, 1733, d. Sept. 30, 1759, was wife of Elijah Livermore.
3—*Elijah, bapt. Nov. 17, 1734.
4—Tabitha, bapt. Sept. 11, 1737.
5—Elizabeth, bapt. April 15, 1739.
6—*Josiah, bapt. May 11, 1740, m. Mary Jones Jan. 10, 1764.
7—Hannah, bapt. Nov. 22, 1741.
8—Jemima, bapt. July 29, 1744.
9—Sarah, bapt. May 11, 1746.
10—Jemima, bapt. Jan. 24, 1748.
11—Anna, bapt. July 2, 1749.
12—Mary, bapt. Sept. 15, 1751.
13—Silas, bapt. May 21, 1752, m., Nov. 25, 1773, Mindwell Wellington. She died Oct. 27, 1808, aged 57. Married, 2d, Abigail Thorp, Feb. 1, 1809. He died in Worcester June 15, 1831. His children:
1—Olive, b. June 4, 1775.
2—Lydia, b. May 17, 1778.
3—Jeremiah, b. March 21, 1779.
4—Josiah, b. Sept. 16, 1781.
5—Clarissa, b. Feb. 22, 1784.
6—Silas, b. April 16, 1786.
7—Mindwell Wellington, b. Jan. 6, 1810.
8—Hannah Bucklin, b. Jan. 2, 1812.
9—Clarissa Harlow, b. July 15, 1815.
10—Mary, b. Dec. 30, 1817.
11—Silas Flagg, b. Aug. 6, 1820.

*Elijah Harrington[4], son of Josiah and Dinah (Flagg) Harrington, married Azubah Rice Feb. 8, 1758. She died April 27, 1768, aged 34 years. He married, 2d, Mehitable Draper, 1769. He died Feb. 3, 1811, aged 77. Their children:

1—Ephraim, bapt. June 29, 1760.
2—Azubah, bapt. April 11, 1761, d. in infancy.

3—Azubah, bapt. March 24, 1762.
4—Mehitable, bapt. May 24, 1770.
5—Abigail, bapt. July 14, 1773.
6—Tamesin, bapt. June 7, 1776.
7—Fanny, bapt. Aug. 14, 1777.
8—Elijah, bapt. Aug. 2, 1779.

*Josiah Harrington[4], son of Josiah and Dinah Flagg, married Mary Jones Jan. 10, 1764.

Children were:

1—Amy, bapt. Nov. 25, 1764.
2—Joel, bapt. Jan. 12, 1772.

*Francis Harrington[3], 8th child of Edward[2], married, Nov. 16, 1736, Prudence Stearns, daughter of Lieut. Samuel Stearns of Watertown, Mass. She was born April 27, 1713, and died in Worcester in August, 1751, in the 38th year of her age. He married, 2d, Deborah Brigham in Westboro, Nov. 14, 1752. She died in Worcester April 20, 1799, aged 84. He died July 18, 1793, aged 84.

At the time of his marriage with Prudence Stearns he was called of Grafton; thither he took his young wife and established his home, and there their eldest child, Francis, Jr., was born.

In the spring of 1741 he purchased of Joseph Dana and Mary Dana, his wife, of Pomfret, Conn., the farm in Worcester that was to become his future home.

See Worc. Co. Records, Vol. XX, page 426.

We, Joseph Dana of Pomfrett, in the county of Windham, Colony of Connecticut, yeoman, and Mary, his wife, for and in consideration of the sum of one thousand pounds to me in hand, before ensealing hereof, well and truly paid by Francis Harrington of Grafton, in the county of Worcester and Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, yeoman, etc., sell, convey and confirm unto him, the said Francis Harrington, etc., all that certain messuage or tenement of housing and land situate, lying and being in Worcester, where Charles Davenport now dwells, and con-

tains ninety-three acres, and bounded as follows, viz.: Northerly on land of Palmer Goulding, easterly on land now in the possession of Samuel Andrews, southwesterly on land of Mr. Gray and westerly partly on land lately in the possession of Ebenr. Flagg, late deceased, and partly on land of Benj. Gates, or however otherwise bounded or reputed to be bounded; it being the land we formerly sold to said Davenport, and this day conveyed back again by the said Charles Davenport to us, the grantors, etc.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seal, this fourteenth day of April, Anno Domini 1741.

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of us: Jonas Ware, John Chandler, Jr., Eliphalet Moore, Mary Lyon.

JOSEPH DANA.
MARY DANA.

Worcester, ss. Woodstock, March 3, 1741-2.

The within named, Joseph Dana and Mary Dana, the within named grantor, personally appeared and severally acknowledged the within written instrument to be their respective act and deed, before me.

JOHN CHANDLER, Justice Peace.

Recorded Nov. 4, 1745.

JOHN CHANDLER, Regst.

Mr. Francis Harrington no doubt took possession as soon as Charles Davenport, who was then residing on the place, could vacate it. He was first of the name to settle in Worcester, as evidenced by the Town Records, the name of Francis Harrington appearing in the list of "persons qualified to serve as jurymen agreeable to law." This list was laid before the town by the Selectmen at the meeting held July 19, 1742, and soon public honors and responsibilities came to him, for at the following March meeting he was chosen field driver and re-elected the subsequent year. At town meeting held May 16, 1743, it was voted that in consideration of great sickness in Francis Harrington's

family, his tax for the last year be repaid him, being 1-0-33-4, and Aug. 29 the town voted him 0-0-71-2 for "two birds two tails." March, 1748-9, he was chosen constable.

At May meeting, 1751, the town voted to pay him 3-1-10 for Francis Verry's, Finias Rice's and Hilkiah Grout's Rates, 1749.

For four years, 1754-1756-1776-1777, he was chosen to serve on committee to provide schoolmasters for his district. But his chief service for the public, certainly as to time, was given to the office of surveyor of highways and collector of highway taxes, having been first chosen to that office at town meeting, 1750, and re-elected 1758, 1763, 1768, 1772, 1783.

From Records of the Town we learn that a committee was appointed and made report that the town pay Francis Harrington, on account of "Kesiah Morse, thirty-two shillings," and the town so voted. At the distributions of the pews in the new meeting-house, Dec. 18, 1764, he selected No. 16, while his cousin, Josiah Harrington, who came from Waltham, selected No. 15, and at the same meeting Josiah's son Elijah was chosen tithingman, March 14, 1768. On the fourth article in the warrant calling the meeting, "the question was put whether the town would prosecute in the law Francis Harrington to recover the money this town must pay for the support of Jane Morse, a poor person, received in here by said Harrington, and it passed in the negative." The following year he was chosen collector of taxes and allowed 6-10-0 for his services, he to give security with sufficient bondsman to the town, which he did, for the town treasurer under instructions by vote of the town allowed Mr. Harrington 4-0-8 7-8 in 1770 in settlement with him as collector of taxes.

Children of Francis Harrington and Prudence Stearns were:

1—Francis, b. in Grafton, 1737, d. in Worcester, April 6, 1768.

2—*Nathaniel, b. in Worcester, 1742, m. Ruth Stone. By his second wife, Deborah Brigham, he had:

3—Mary, b. in Worcester Dec. 16, 1753, m. Jonathan Stone, Jr., Feb. 13, 1777.

4—Prudence, b. April 20, 1755, m. Josiah Perry, July 6, 1780.

5—William, b. Nov. 18, 1756, m. Mary Perry May 29, 1781.

*Nathaniel Harrington[4] married, July 2, 1776, Ruth Stone, daughter of Jonathan Stone of Auburn, Mass. She (was born in 1748) died Aug. 24, 1817, aged 69 years. Mr. Harrington was born and reared on the Harrington homestead, and when the alarm was sounded calling for men to assist in defending the rights and liberties of the colony, he responded, going out as sergeant in Capt. Timothy Bigelow's company of minute-men, Col. Artemas Ward's regiment, which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775, serving five days, when, April 24, 1775, he enlisted into the army, rendering three months and fifteen days' service, being sergeant in Capt. Jonas Hubbard's company, Col. Jonathan Ward's regiment. He signed with others order for advance pay in June, 1775. His name also appears in company return dated Dorchester, Oct. 7, 1775; also Second Lieutenant Capt. William Gates' 2d company (South company in Worcester, 1st Worcester county regiment of Massachusetts militia). List of officers chosen by the several companies in said regiment, as returned by Col. Samuel Denny and others, field officers, dates Leicester, March 28, 1776; ordered in council, April 4, 1776, that said officers be commissioned; reported commissioned April 5, 1776.

He was also First Lieutenant Capt. Joshua Whitney's (2) company, 5th Worcester county regiment of Massachusetts militia. List of officers chosen in said company, as returned by Col. Samuel Denny, dated Leicester, June 2, 1777; ordered in council, June 5, 1777, that said officers be com-

missioned; reported commissioned June 5, 1777; also lieutenant Capt. Jesse Stone's company, Col. Job Cushing's regiment, marched July 27, 1777, discharged August 29, 1777. Services, one month and nine days, including six days' (120 miles) travel home. Company marched to Bennington by order of Brigadier General Warner. Roll dated Oxford.

Mr. Harrington's introduction into public office in his native town was March 11, 1777, when at town meeting he was chosen, with seven others, to serve as "hog reeves." Two years later his name appears on the jury list, March 20, 1780, chosen one of the assessors, and following year to provide schooling in his district.

May 18, 1782, he with nine others signed a request to the Selectmen of the town of Worcester that they call a town meeting as soon as may be to see if the town will instruct their representative to use his influence in the General Court to obtain a redress of grievances which we think we labor under. A few years later, he signed, with others, a petition to the Selectmen to call a meeting that the town might choose delegates to a convention to be held at the house of Nathan Patch in Worcester second Tuesday of November, 1786. The meeting was called, and delegates chosen; the vote stood 62 in the affirmative to 53 against, and the delegates were chosen.

It appears that the grievances referred to were principally the financial burdens the people were forced to bear incident to the Revolutionary War. These petitioners wanted such legislation enacted by the General Court that would, so far as possible, do away with certain public expenses, and thus relieve the people in a measure from the burden of taxation. In 1788-1794 Mr. Harrington was chosen surveyor of highways and collector of highway taxes.

1790, 1791, 1793, 1796, 1798, 1800, 1808, chosen on

School Committee; was bondsman to the town for William Gates. 1797, 1799, chosen on committee for building public schoolhouses.

For more than twenty-five years, from 1798, he was paid by the town for boarding and nursing Kezia Morse, a poor person.

1799, fence viewer.

Chosen Selectman 1803 to 1809 inclusive.

About the last public service rendered the town was running the boundary line between Worcester and Shrewsbury.

In 1808 he, with the other members of the board, signed a letter to the Selectmen of Boston declining their request that the citizens of Worcester be assembled in town meeting to concur with the sentiments expressed by the inhabitants of Boston in a petition addressed to President Jefferson, praying for the suspension of the embargo act.

He died February 28, 1831, aged 89 years. His children were:

1—*Francis, b. May 15, 1777, d. Oct. 17, 1841.

2—*Jonathan, b. Oct. 31, 1779, m. Mary Flagg.

3—Sarah, b. Aug. 14, 1786.

*Captain Francis Harrington[5] married Lydia Perry May 13, 1801. He remained on the old homestead. Was Captain in the militia of the Worcester South Company. Although not prominent in public affairs, was honored more or less with responsible positions by the town, such as School Committee, Surveyor of Highways and Collector of highway taxes.

In the year 1816 chosen, with William Trowbridge, Thaddeus Chapin, Benjamin Thaxter and Ebenezer Mower, to report at a future meeting on the claim made by Isaiah Thomas, Esq., "for work, etc., done at the bridge near Mr. Salisbury's, etc."

Children:

1—*Daniel, b. Oct. 4, 1802, m. Clarissa Gray.

2—*Mary, b. March 20, 1804, m. Captain and Deacon Samuel Perry.

3—Hannah, b. Feb. 12, 1806, d. July 14, 1823.

4—Joseph, b. Feb. 27, 1808, d. April 13, 1812.

5—*Francis, b. Aug. 11, 1811, m., first, Harriet W. Robbinson; second, Frances J. Moore. He was an alderman 1860.

6—Lydia Flagg, b. Dec. 12, 181[illegible], m. Nahum Flagg.

*Jonathan Harrington[5] married Molly or Mary Flagg, 1804, and resided on portion of the original homestead. Had but one child:

1—Benjamin, b. April 8, 1805, d. Aug. 15, 1873.

His home was at Harrington court, near his cousin, Daniel Harrington. He married Lucretia Flagg, March 18, 1834. Children:

1—Mary Elizabeth, b. Jan. 25, 1836, m. Samuel G. Curtis.

2—Benjamin F., b. Sept. 2, 1838, m. Harriet W. Harrington.

3—Hannah Flagg, b. Nov. 12, 1842, d. April 11, 1845.

4—Henry Augustus, b. Sept. 8, 1846, m. Delia M. Griggs. He was member Overseers of the Poor, 1888 to 1896, and a member Board of Aldermen, 1890 and 1891.

5—Sarah A., m. Gonzalo Buxton.

*Capt. Daniel Harrington[6] married March 27, 1828. Clarissa Gray. She was born Aug. 23, 1809; died June 6, 1884; daughter of Nathaniel and Patty (Dickman) Gray. He succeeded to the home estate, and in the year 1831 his name appears on the jury list. Subsequently he is called to fill the positions of Fence Viewer, School Committee and Highway Surveyor. Served in the Common Council, 1849, 1850, and Board of Aldermen 1851.

Children were:

1—Joseph, b. Oct. 26, 1829, d. Dec. 4, 1875.

2—*Emily, b. Oct. 23, 1831, d. 1883, m. Geo. S. Battelle.
3—*Charles A., b. May 20, 1834, m. Lucy Goulding.
4—Henry M., b. March 20, 1836, d. Aug. 6, 1837.
5—Delia A., b. March 21, 1841, m. Geo. B. Andrews, 1863. Residence, Clinton, Mass.
6—*Maria A., b. Sept. 2, 1843, m. Edward W. Wellington.
7—*Francis A., b. Nov. 17, 1846, m. Anna M. Grout.
8—George A., b. July 8, 1849, d. 1885.
9—*Daniel A., b. May 8, 1851, m. Jennie A. Spiers.

*Emily Harrington[7] married George S. Battelle. Resided on the Harrington homestead.

*Charles A. Harrington[7] married, first, Lucy Goulding. Served in City Council, 1882 and 1883. Resided at 16 Windsor street, city.

1—Elmer W.
2—Herbert H.

*Maria A. Harrington[7] married Edward W. Wellington, who was son of T. W. Wellington, coal dealer in Worcester, a very prominent and successful business man. Mr. Edward W. Wellington enlisted and served in the Civil War; was Lieutenant in the army.

Children:

Delia M. and Frank E.

*Hon. Francis Alfred Harrington[7] married Roxanna M. Grout, who died Dec. 24, 1900. He was born and reared at the old family homestead. Has been and is at present prominent in Odd Fellow and Masonic bodies, also active in Grange organizations, having been Treasurer of the State Grange for the past fourteen years. He was elected to represent Ward 3 in the city government, serving during the years 1887, 1888 and 1889 in the Board of Aldermen. The following year he was elected Mayor, and twice re-elected. His administration, covering the period from 1890 to 1893, proved a very economical and successful one, notwithstanding there were many very difficult problems to

overcome. Although busily employed in caring for his farming interests, livery and insurance business, he was not allowed for any great length of time to remain out of politics, for he was called to represent the Second Worcester Senatorial District in the State Senate for the years 1899, 1900 and 1901.

Children:

1—Charles A., m. Luella B. Crook of Cleveland, Ohio. He was a teacher in high school in Worcester.

2—Frank C., m. Leora Leighton.

3—May E.

*Daniel A. Harrington[7] married Jennie A. Spiers. Served two terms on the Board of Aldermen. Has been prominent in the order of Odd Fellows.

Children:

1—Clara A. Teacher in the Worcester high school.

2—Josie A., m. Herbert H. Linnell. Residence, North Adams, Mass.

3—John S.

4—Daniel A.

*Mary Harrington[6] married, Dec. 8, 1823, Captain and Deacon Samuel Perry. Settled on the Perry homestead, Vernon street, Worcester.

Children:

1—Hannah Harrington, b. Oct. 8, 1824.

2—Mary Stone, b. Nov. 8, 1826.

3—Joseph Stone, b. Nov. 3, 1828.

4—Julia Maria, b. Oct. 13, 1830.

5—Nathan Fiske, b. March 10, 1833.

6—Lydia Almira, b. Feb. 27, 1835.

7—Harriet Newell, b. Feb. 28, 1837.

8—David Brainard, b. March 7, 1839.

9—Samuel Payson, b. March 18, 1841.

10—Moses, b. July 15, 1843.

*Francis Harrington[6] married, first, Harriet W. Robbins, April 6, 1841; second, Frances T. Moore, April 13, 1843.

Harriet W. Robbins was born April 19, 1818; died, Sept. 26, 1842. Frances T. Moore was daughter Col. Henry Moore. They had one child, Harriet, who married Benjamin F. Harrington, and resided on a portion of the original Harrington homestead.

A deed from Francis Harrington to his son Nathaniel conveys the following described property:

For four hundred pounds lawful money sold one moiety half part of the land with buildings thereon where I now dwell; about one hundred and twenty acres in the whole. Bounded northerly partly by land belonging to Stephen Salisbury, formerly Holbrook's; partly by road from Capt. William Gates' to Joshua Bigelow's; easterly by said Bigelow's land, southerly by land of Mathew Gray, westerly partly by Benjamin Flagg's land and partly by Samuel Brown's land.

The other moiety of said land I some time ago conveyed to the said Nathaniel, also about twenty-five acres more of land lying in Worcester separate from the aforedescribed by the road aforesaid leading from Gates' to said Bigelow, and bounded westerly and southerly on said road; southerly and easterly on said Bigelow's land, northerly and easterly on Jonathan Gates' land; northerly on William Gates', until it comes to the said road. With pew in meeting-house.

Nov. 6, 1781.

Recorded Jan'y 16, 1783. Vol. 88, page 164.

Nathaniel to William Harrington :

A tract of land containing about forty acres, bounded south on land belonging to heirs of Simon Gates, late of

said Worcester, deceased; partly on land belonging to the heirs of Capt. Jones Hubbard, deceased; west on land of Mr. Nichols, northerly on land partly belonging to Mr. Sprague, and in part on land of William Young, Esq. Eastwardly partly on said Young's land and partly on land of Capt. Ebenezer Lovell, the said William Harrington, his heirs and assigns, to have full and free liberty at all times forever of passing and repassing across a certain tract of land belonging to the said William Young, which layed joining to the north part of the convəyed land, viz., to pass from the southerly part of said tract to the east-bound thereof, where it will best accommodate said Young and the grantee, or to pass from west to east across about thirty acres, lately sold to the above said Capt. Lovell, to land formerly Joshua Barnard's.

3rd day of June, 1780.

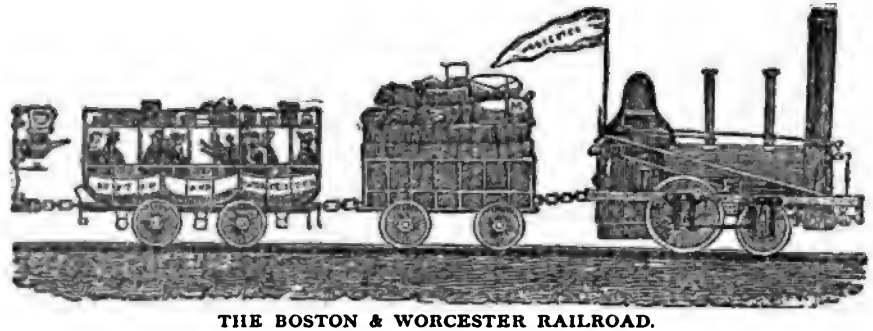
Recorded May 18, 1782, Vol. 85, page 509.

362d Meeting.

Tuesday evening, September 3, 1901.

Met in Salisbury hall, President Crane in the chair. An audience of fifty or more were present to listen to Benjamin T. Hill, Esq., on the subject of early public transportation to and from Worcester. There being no special business to come before the society, Mr. Hill was at once presented to the audience, and gave a very instructive and graphic lecture illustrated by stereoscopic views.

At the close of the lecture various persons in the audience expressed their pleasure at being able to listen to Mr. Hill, and also related incidents brought to mind by the reading of the paper, President Crane, T. A. Dickinson, James H. Bancroft, Esq., Nathaniel Paine and Major F. G. Stiles taking part in the discussion. On motion of George M. Rice, a vote of thanks was given Mr. Hill for his interesting and instructive entertainment.



THE BOSTON & WORCESTER RAILROAD.
FROM AN OLD PRINT.

FROM THE OUTLOOK.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE BOSTON AND WORCESTER RAILROAD.

By Benjamin Thomas Hill.

Up to the close of the Revolution the condition of the roads in this country rendered the means of communication so limited, and the dangers and hardships of a long journey were so great, that few had the inclination or the courage to travel for pleasure alone. Those who did generally had recourse to the saddle, carriages and public coaches not being introduced to any great extent until much later. The first pleasure carriage in Worcester was a chaise owned by Daniel Waldo, senior, a Boston merchant, who came here from Lancaster in 1782; and a few years later Isaiah Thomas had the first colored coachman in livery, and always traveled in state with coach and four.

The mails were carried through all the principal towns by a system of post-riders, and branches extended to the more remote districts. These post-riders, who continued until well into the forties, can be traced by the advertisements in the local papers, their routes gradually diminishing as the territory which they covered was invaded, first by the stage coach, and then by the railroad. The newspapers and packages were carried in large saddlebags, and the letters in a pouch hung across their shoulders. Merchandise of every description possible was carried by them, and it was a very common thing for horses to be sent by post. Always having a fund of the latest news and gossip, in the early days, when newspapers were expensive, the distant sound of their horn as they approached a town, especially at election time, or after the happening of an important event, was the signal for the assembling of a crowd at the post office.

Isaiah Thomas was one of the earliest to increase the postal facilities of the country. In the latter part of 1774,

Newspaper Notice!

THE Post-Rider through the towns of Leicester, Spencer, North Brookfield, Hardwick, &c., informs those who take the Worcester Newspapers of him that he will be at the following places for the purpose of settling with them, viz: At Goodell's tavern in Spencer, on Thursday, Feb. 23, in the afternoon; at the Store in New Worcester, on Friday, Feb. 24, in the forenoon; at the Post Office in Leicester, on Friday, Feb. 24, in the afternoon; at Rice's tavern in Spencer, on Friday, Feb. 24, in the evening; at W. Hill's store in Spencer, on Saturday, Feb. 25, in the forenoon; at Cary & Rice's store in North Brookfield, on Saturday, Feb. 25, in the afternoon; at Ruggles's tavern, in Hardwick, on Monday, Feb. 27, in the forenoon; at Burgess's tavern in Hardwick, on Monday, Feb. 27, in the afternoon.

It is now about three years since the subscriber commenced carrying Newspapers on this Route, and there are a good many persons (much to their shame) who have never paid him a *single cent*, although they have had the newspaper carried to them regularly and faithfully *every week*, rain or shine. He is now determined to have a settlement with ALL who are in arrears; and he hopes delinquents will look out that their grists don't get into the lawmill, as they inevitably will unless settled immediately. DENNY S. NOYES.

New Braintree, Feb. 15.

From the "Massachusetts Spy," February 15, 1832.

while he still published the "Massachusetts Spy" in Boston, with William Goddard of Baltimore, John Holt of New York, and Thaddeus Burr of Fairfield, Conn., he established a line of post-riders from Boston to Baltimore. When he removed that paper to Worcester in the follow-

ing spring, he made extensive preparations for its distribution. In June a post-rider started from his printing-office every Wednesday, at noon, for Cambridge and Salem, returning on the following Tuesday on the publication of Edes & Gill's "Gazette" in the former place. They also rode to Fitchburg and Providence. In later years their headquarters were in the bar-room of the old Central Hotel, which stood where the Bay State House now is.

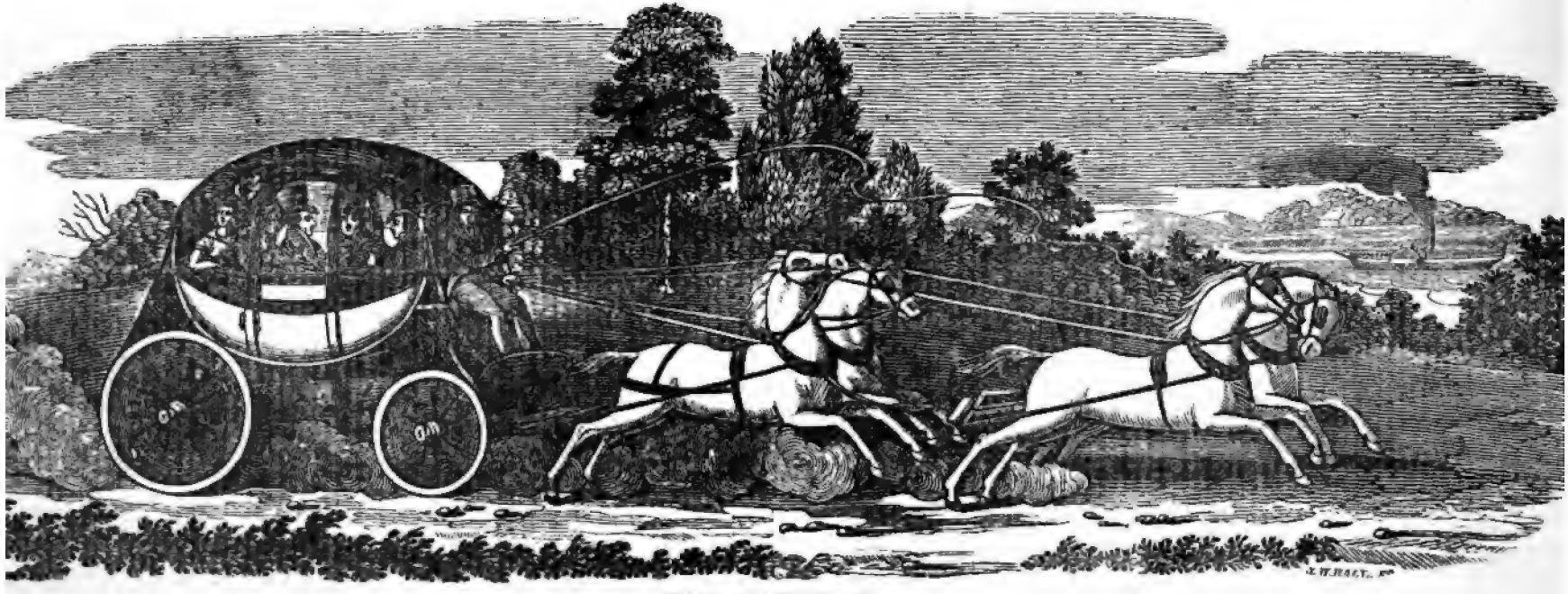
Even after the introduction of railroads they were often employed, especially by the larger newspapers of the country, for the conveyance of important despatches, such as the President's message, and the rider's reputation depended upon his swiftness in performing his mission.[1]

One incident in their later career is of especial local interest. In the winter of 1845-6 great excitement prevailed in the United States over the dispute which had arisen

[1] "AN EXPRESS. Expresses are carried sometimes in light vehicles, but generally on horseback. The speed is commonly too great for the motion of wheels, and with a horse unincumbered by a vehicle, obstacles from bad roads or any other source can be more readily overcome and avoided. The riders are dressed in a light jacket, pantaloons, or breeches and boots, and a snug cap. In the rapid expresses which have been run within the last two years from Washington with the President's message, horses and riders are stationed at intervals of five miles throughout the whole line. The shortest calculations have been for twenty-two miles per hour. Each horse, therefore, has to perform his route within fifteen minutes. As each horse comes up, the next rider seizes the package, applies his spurs, and goes off at the top of his animal's powers. Seldom have all the bridges, mud holes and other obstacles of all sorts, between Washington and New York, been passed without at least one or two doleful tumbles. In one instance, a horse, in jumping from Trenton bridge, slipped and fell, burst open his breast, and died on the spot. The riders, strained to the highest pitch of excitement and energy, generally contrive to save their necks, but they encounter hazards which the gratified curiosity of thousands can hardly repay. Yet there are always a plenty of men and boys with whom the pleasure of excitement more than outweighs the danger. If a horse is disabled, the rider has to procure another as he can, and sometimes takes the humble, and, under the circumstances, almost ridiculous alternative, of trudging two or three miles on foot."

—*Boston Courier*, January 28, 1833.

FROM A CONTEMPORARY PRINT.



STAGE COACH OF 1818.

The first regular line of stages for the conveyance of passengers to pass through Worcester is thus announced in the "Massachusetts Spy" of October 30, 1783:

Stage Waggons.

The fubfcribers having furnifhed themfelves with convenient STAGE WAGGONS, propofe to fet off from Hartford on Monday the 20th of October inft. at 11 o'clock, and arrive at Levi Peafe's, Somers, at night — From thence to Rice's tavern, Brookfield, Tuefday night — From thence to Martin's, Northborough, Wednefday night — From thence to the sign of the Lamb in Bofton, on Thurfday evening. The Stage Stage will leave Bofton on Monday morning at 6 o'clock, and ftop at the aforementioned places, and reach Hartford on Thurfday at 12 o'clock. A Stage will fet off for New Haven on Friday, and return on Saturday. The Price will be four pence per mile for every paffenger, including 14 lb. baggage, and the fame Price for every 150 lb. The greateft attention will be paid to paffengers, by the publick's humble fervants.

LEVI PEASE,
REUBEN SIKES, Jun.

October 14, 1783.

When, in 1783, Levi Pease of Somers, Conn., determined to run a line of stages from Boston to Hartford, he

"I can recollect well how he drove on to Barre Common, which was then entered from the south. A short time before reaching the town he began to blow his horn, and setting his horses into a canter, would swing around the sharp corner to the hotel at full speed, stop the horses at the door in a second, throw the reins over their backs and quietly get down from the box.

"A few minutes before the time for the return trip another stage would be brought to the door, and jumping upon the box, he would crack his whip, and start the horses on the dead run around the common, sometimes encircling it several times, blowing his horn, and rocking the stage backward and forward with his body, so that the rear wheels were almost lifted from the ground. Then returning to the hotel the coach would be loaded and he would start again within an hour after his arrival.

"When his business increased so that he could not attend to it himself, he had drivers and sat beside them on the box. Everybody knew him and greeted him on the way, the boys lifting their hats and the girls stopping to curtesy, and their salutations were always returned."

applied to one Ballard, the only man in Boston who kept a public hack at that time, to form a partnership with him; but he declined, saying that it was a visionary scheme, and added, "The time *may* come when the public will support a stage from Hartford to Boston, *but not in your day or mine.*" After many futile efforts to dissuade him from the undertaking, Pease's friends then beseeched him to start only when he had passengers, as he had several times made the journey alone. He replied that passengers would come when they found that the stage could be relied upon. His prediction proved to be correct. He found a partner in Reuben Sikes of Suffield, Conn., and the enterprise was so well patronized that in the following May they purchased new carriages, and the following notice appears in the "Spy":

Hartford Stages.

THE HARTFORD STAGES are now running regularly as uſual, to accommodate Paſſengers, who wiſh to go forward from BOSTON to NEW HAVEN, &c.—It is intended that on THURSDAY the 13th of May inſtant, at 6 o'clock in the morning, that one Stage ſhall ſet off from BOSTON, for HARTFORD, and will lodge at Mr. JOHN FARRAR'S, in SHREWSBURY, from thence proceed to Captain MASON'S, in SPENCER, there to exchange Paſſengers with the Stage that comes from HARTFORD, and return to ſaid FARRAR'S the ſame day. The other Stage to ſet off from HARTFORD the ſame day and hour above mentioned, and proceed for BOSTON, by the way of SPRINGFIELD, and lodge at Major GRAVES'S, in PALMER, and from thence to proceed to ſaid Capt. MASON'S, in SPENCER, there to exchange Paſſengers with the Stage that comes from BOSTON, and return back to PALMER the ſame day.—Mr. PEASE, who rides from BOSTON, puts up at Mr. CALVIN WHITE'S, the Sign of the LION, in MARLBOROUGH-STREET, nearly oppoſite the TREASURER'S OFFICE, BOSTON.—And Mr. SIKES, who rides from HARTFORD, puts up at Mr. COTTON MURRAY'S, about ſixty rods north of the COURT-HOUSE in ſaid HARTFORD.—Paſſengers are deſired to leave their names the night before, at the places they put

up at, with half the pay.—The NEW-HAVEN STAGE, viz. Mr. BROWN, ſets off from HARTFORD on Monday morning, at ſix o'clock, for NEW-HAVEN, and arrives there the ſame day.—The Price for Paſſage is *Four Pence* per mile, with privilege of carrying fourteen pounds weight. There is conſtant conveyance from NEW HAVEN to NEW YORK, by Packet Boats.

N. B. The Stages will be opened from NEW-HAVEN to NEW-YORK as ſoon as poſſible.

LEVI PEASE,
REUBEN SIKES.

May 3d, 1784.

By an arrangement with Talmage Hall and Jacob Brown of Hartford the stage communication was extended to New Haven in November, 1784; the following year Pease purchased the Boston Inn, where St. Paul's Church now stands, which then became the starting-point in Boston, and the new Exchange Hotel was their headquarters in Worcester. In 1786 their success was so great that they established a line of stages from Portsmouth, N. H., to Savannah, Ga., and in the "Spy" of August 14th, 1788:

The publick are moſt reſpectfully informed, that, after great expenſe and fatigue, the ſubſcriber, and company, have completed the line of STAGES from this city (New York) quite through to Boſton. The carriages, which were before heavy and uneaſy, are now all hung upon coach ſprings, and do not fatigue more than a common coach. The carriage from hence to Fairfield, in particular, is a new, well constructed, easy one, which will render the journey pleaſurable, inſtead of a toil as heretofore.

Having thus completed the line, the ſubscriber will commence on Monday next, the 21ſt inſtant, to run the Stages from *New York* to *Boſton*, THREE times a week, and continue it until November 1, from which to May 1, TWICE a week.

* * * * *

The Publick's humble ſervant,

LEVI PEASE

New York, July 18, 1788.

Soon after graduating from Harvard Josiah Quincy made a visit to Europe, taking in on his way New York and Philadelphia. He writes in his journal:

"I set out from Boston at the end of December, 1794, or the beginning of January, 1795, in the line of stages lately established by an enterprising Yankee, Pease by name, which at that day was considered a method of transportation of wonderful expedition. The journey to New York took up a week. The carriages were old and shackling, and much of the harness made of ropes. One pair of horses carried the stage eighteen miles. We generally reached our resting-place for the night, if no accident intervened, at ten o'clock, and after a frugal supper went to bed with a notice that we should be called at three the next morning, which generally proved to be half-past two. Then, whether it snowed or rained, the traveler must rise and make ready by the help of a horn lantern and a farthing candle, and proceed on his way over bad roads, sometimes with a driver showing no doubtful symptoms of drunkenness, which good-hearted travelers never fail to improve at every stopping-place by urging upon him another glass of toddy. Thus we traveled, eighteen miles a stage, sometimes obliged to get out and help the coachman lift the coach out of a quagmire or rut, and arrived at New York after a week's hard traveling, wondering at the ease as well as the expedition with which our journey was effected."[3]

"The first stage-coach," says McMaster, "was little better than a huge covered box mounted on springs. It had neither glass windows, door, steps, nor closed sides. The roof was upheld by ten posts which rose from the body of the vehicle, and the body was commonly breast high. From the top were hung leather curtains, which could be let down and buttoned when the weather was stormy or cold. Within were four seats. On the top was the baggage, each passenger being allowed to carry fourteen

[3] "Life of Josiah Quincy," by Edmund Quincy.

pounds free. If it weighed more, the traveler had to pay for it at the rate per mile he paid himself; but more than one hundred and fifty pounds were not allowed under any circumstances. When the baggage had all been weighed and strapped on the coach, the horses attached, and the way-bill, containing the names of the passengers, made out, the passengers would climb to their seats through the front of the stage, with their faces to the driver's seat."[4]

Toward the close of the century, as the country began to recover from the effects of the war, and the people could think more of their own comforts, these inconveniences and dangers became intolerable. Travelers and the newspapers complained bitterly of the state of the roads and the inns. On the best roads the ruts were deep and the descents precipitous. The passengers were often obliged to get down and help pull the wheels out of the mud, while breakdowns and upsets were of every-day occurrence. The inns were dirty and poorly kept. Suddenly there arose a great cry for public improvements. Turnpikes, canals and bridges were projected from one end of the country to the other, and the newspapers of the day were filled with the accounts of these works, and with lottery schemes to aid in their construction.

From this time onward the improvement was rapid, and traveling increased in proportion as the roads became better and the inns were more comfortable.[5] The stage-

[4] McMaster's "History of the People of the United States," II, 560.

[5] The stage lines which centered at Worcester, in 1825, were: *daily* to Boston, Hartford and New York, and to Oxford; *three times a week*, five lines to Boston; one to Providence; one through Hardwick to Northampton; one through Brookfield to the same town; one to Springfield; one to Keene; one to East Chelmsford; one to Southbridge; one to Dudley; *twice a week* there was a line to Providence; and there were *weekly* lines to Athol, to Richmond, N. H., and to Ashburnham. Post riders carried mails

driver came to have a pride in his coach and his horses, and the inn-keeper in the way in which his house was managed, and his hospitality and fare were famous.[6]

The first important work in the nature of internal improvements in this country was the Middlesex canal, which was opened in 1803. While this was in the course of construction a canal was projected between Worcester and Boston, and had even been surveyed in 1791; another was contemplated between Worcester and Providence, but owing to jealousies nothing came of either.

But on the Fourth of July, 1817, the ground was broken at Rome, N. Y., for a work which was to have more influence than any which had been before projected on the commercial interests of New England, and especially on those of Boston. The Erie canal was opened in the autumn of 1825, and Boston suddenly awoke to the realization of the fact that this new route to the West would tend to draw away the western trade upon which she relied in a great measure for the maintenance of her position as a commercial centre. Unless something could be done to

twice a week to Pomfret, Conn., and weekly to Thompson, Conn.; others without mails went to Concord, Charlton, and Oxford.

In September, 1836, 122 stages left Worcester weekly.—Lincoln's "*History of Worcester.*"

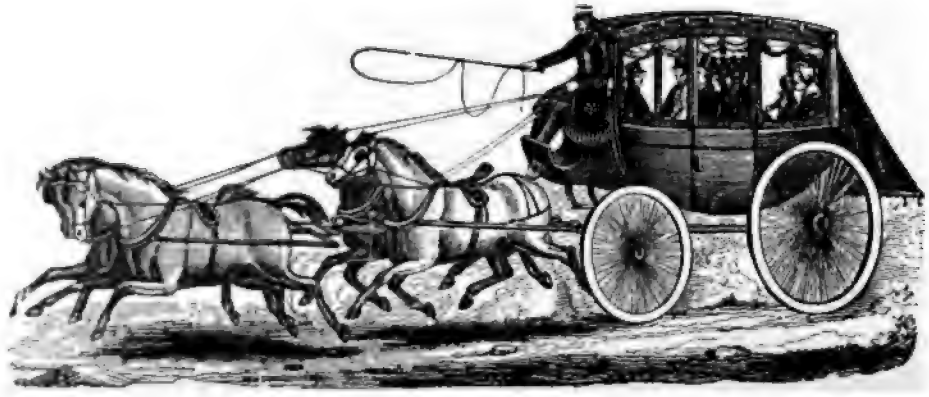
[6] *Messrs. Editors:* Traveling alone during the last week, in the interior of Massachusetts, I called for a breakfast at a public house, and was presented with the following—all upon the same table—of which I took a memorandum at the time, viz.: Beef, Pork and Mutton *Steak;* broiled *Chicken;* fried *Fish;* broiled and fried *Eggs;* boiled and fried *Potatoes;* toast, *dry* and *dipt;* Wheat, Rye and Indian *Bread;* a large Apple, Pumpkin and Minced *Pie;* Loaf, Plum and Sweet *Cake; Pickles,* of two kinds; *Cheese;* Apple and and Quince *Sauce*; *Cyder*—and a decanter each of *Rum, Brandy* and *Gin.*

Though, like most travelers, I had a voracious appetite when I asked for my breakfast, still, as you may well suppose, when I had gone through the course I was completely surfeited.

Yours,

I.

—*New England Palladium*, December 31, 1824.



STAGE COACH OF 1828.

Connecticut river."[8] The cost, based on the estimates which had been employed in the construction of the Middlesex canal, was to be about six millions of dollars. The report was laid before the Legislature in January, 1826, but not only was no action taken on it, but a resolve authorizing further surveys was laid upon the table, and that under which the surveys had already been made was repealed.

In spite of these discouragements the friends of the canal project did not give it up, but it was to receive its death-blow at the next session of the Legislature in an unexpected manner.

The master-builder at the laying of the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill Monument by Lafayette, on the 17th of June, 1825, was a self-educated engineer named Gridley Bryant, who had the year before purchased a stone-quarry in Quincy to procure granite for the monument. At this time the contemplated Manchester & Liverpool Railroad was exciting great interest in England, and from the accounts of this work he devised the scheme of building a

appears to us that some more easy and rapid mode of transportation between Worcester and Boston, either by railroad or canal, would be of unspeakable advantage to both places. We speak of Worcester as the point to which attention should be directed, because it is understood that the mine of coal lately discovered in that town, now affords of promise of an ample supply of cheap and agreeable fuel. If the anticipations of the enterprising owner of this mine and those who live in its vicinity have any sufficient basis, there can be no doubt that the coal might be, in a few years, an article of export from Boston to various other sea-ports along the coast of New England."

In October, 1829, Samuel B. Thomas, William E. Green, Isaac Davis and others were incorporated as the "Worcester Rail Road Co." to build a railroad from "the lands called the Coal Mines of Worcester to the waters of Quinsigamond Pond in said Worcester; and also from said lands to the banks of the Blackstone Canal in said town." No further action was taken, however. The coal was found to be a graphite unfit for use as a fuel, and the workings at the mine were discontinued soon after.

[8] Nathan Willis, Elihu Hoyt and Henry A. S. Dearborn.

The engineer was Loammi Baldwin.

railway from the quarry to water carriage, a distance of four miles. After many delays he finally obtained a charter, and on the 1st of April, 1826, the work of construction was begun; on the 7th of the following October the first train of cars passed over the whole length of the road, one horse drawing sixteen tons on three carriages weighing five tons.[9] It was built on an inclined plane, sloping from the quarry, and as the traffic was all in this direction single horses could easily move as heavy loads as the road would bear. It was used for forty years, always by horse power, and finally became a part of the road-bed of the Old Colony Railroad.[10]

It is not perhaps generally known that there was a similar railroad in Worcester two years later. The "National Aegis" in November, 1828, says: "The operations at the Worcester Coal Mine are now pursued by Col. Binney, under the superintendence of Mr. Brigham. At the top of the hill a shaft has been carried down to a depth of sixty feet, at about an angle of forty degrees, following the direction of a vein of coal of about eight feet in thickness and unknown extent, declining towards the north and east. Standing at the entrance of the mine the spectator sees before him a huge cavern, appearing more gigantic for the dim light which rests on its black walls, from the lamps of the miners gleaming far below, and the sound of their in-

[9] "New England Palladium," October 10, 1826.

[10] Although this was the first important railroad in the United States, there were at least two others before it. So far as is known the first was built by Stephen Whitney on the western slope of Beacon Hill in Boston, in 1807, to transport gravel from the top of the hill to Charles street, which was then being filled up and graded. It was a quarter of a mile long and consisted of two tracks so arranged that as the full cars ran down one they pulled the empty cars up the other. This was only in operation a short time.

The first permanent road was constructed by Thomas Leiper in Philadelphia in 1810, and its purpose was the same as that of the Granite Railway. It was three-fourths of a mile long and was in use eighteen years.—*McMaster*, "*History of the People of the United States*," *III*, *494*.

EMORY WASHBURN.

years against the introduction of railroads are very amusing and appear to us now almost incredible. A correspondent of the "Courier" speaks contemptuously of the "wagons contrived to go by themselves, and carry the horse into the bargain." Others asked, "What will become of the stage-drivers? What will become of horses? They will have to be killed because wholly useless, and there will therefore be no market for oats or hay. The loss of life by accident will be enormous. They will cause insanity. There will be constant fires from the sparks from the engines. Hens will not lay on account of the noise. The wool will be burned from the backs of the sheep in the fields."

Although the Legislature paid no attention to the recommendations in the report, they did create a "Board of Internal Improvements," consisting of three members, who were to employ an engineer and examine routes for canals and railways generally. They were later directed to survey a railway route from Boston to the Rhode Island line, and a canal route to the Hudson. They made one report on a local canal.

In June, 1827, petitions for railways again poured into the Legislature, now headed by Josiah Quincy, Mayor of Boston; and a resolve was passed providing for two commissioners and an engineer, to report on the best practicable route for a railway to the Hudson. $10,000 was appropriated for this work. The report of the commissioners was submitted in January, 1828. They also made a report on a railway from Boston to Providence, which shows the prevailing ideas of that time in regard to railroad construction. It is thus epitomized by Governor Lincoln:—[14]

"That the railroad may be constructed, on either of the two routes, designated as Eastern and Western, with little

[14] Message to the Legislature, January 25, 1828.

preference in the election between them, and in the length of way not greater than the present turnpike road.

"That the inequalities of country through the whole distance may be reduced for the track of the road to an elevation at most of thirty feet in a mile, except in a single short section, where it will not exceed sixty feet.

"That horse-power will be most expedient for application to the uses of this road. That the power of a single horse, working seven hours in a day, and traveling at the rate of three miles an hour, will be equal to the draft over the road of at least eight tons' weight, inclusive of the weight of the carriage, except on the section of greatest inclination, where additional power may conveniently, and with little expense, be applied. And that the same power of a single horse, working three hours a day, will convey a carriage with twenty-five passengers, at the speed of nine miles an hour.

"That the best mode of constructing the road will be with foundation tracks of granite, having a flat bar of iron secured by bolts to the upper surface of the stone, on which the wheels of the carriage are to move.

"That one set of tracks, with suitable offsets and short side-tracks, at equal distances on the road, will be sufficient for the convenient accommodation of the travel.

"That the expense of constructing the road, in the most thorough manner, with durable materials, will not exceed $8,000 per mile, and with proper additional allowances for offsets and occasional side-tracks, the whole expense will fall short of $350,000, exclusive of the compensation which may be exacted for land taken for the use of the road, which, it is suggested, will probably be inconsiderable.

"That from satisfactory estimates and calculations upon the present travel and occasion of transportation, the net income of receipts from the use of the road, after deducting all charges for keeping it in repair, carriages, etc., and

NATHAN HALE.

with immediate results; and in January, 1830, petitions for the incorporation of private railroad companies were presented to the Legislature.

But one difficulty now remained to be overcome—the granting of exclusive rights. A long contest followed, private enterprise standing out for these rights, and the Legislature refusing to grant them. They were at last granted to the Boston and Lowell road for a term of forty years.

The opening of the Manchester and Liverpool road in November, 1830, hastened the growth of feeling in Boston. As the people became more eager for railroads they insisted less on exclusive rights; and in June, 1831, the Providence and the Worcester roads were incorporated,[18]

[18] PETITION FOR THE INCORPORATION OF THE BOSTON & WORCESTER RAILROAD.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled.

The undersigned respectfully pray that they and their associates may be made a body corporate and authorized to locate and construct a railroad with one or more tracks from the City of Boston to the Town of Worcester, and that such powers and privileges may be granted to them as to the wisdom of your Honorable Body shall seem just and proper.

Boston, 30 May, 1831.

George Bond
Luther Franklin
Henry Williams
Henry H. Fuller
J. B. Brown
Pliny Cutler
George Hallet
Winslow Wright
Nathaniel Hammond
Joseph T. Buckingham
James K. Mills
Eliphalet Williams
George Morey
Ward Jackson
Henry Rice
Thomas R. Sewall
William Packard
Cornelius Coolidge
Isaac Danforth
Daniel Hastings
E. A. & R. Winchester
R. Richards, Jr.
John C. Putnam
John Thompson
A. Chandler
Thomas B. Wales
William Dehon
Andrew Dunlap
Joseph A. Ballard
John P. Bigelow
Jonathan Whitney

only a few weeks before a trial trip was made on a portion of the New York Central.[19] The Worcester company organized in July, and work was immediately begun upon

[19] July 4th, 1831, the directors issued a form of subscription to which they annexed the following estimates of the traveling in stage-coaches between Boston and Worcester, of the transportation in wagons and of the annual expenses, collected with the assistance of the stage proprietors and agents:

The average amount of traveling in the stages now running between Boston and Worcester, including those which passed through Worcester to New York and Albany, was 22,360, for which the lowest rate of fare was two dollars.

The traveling in other lines of stages on routes which did not pass through Worcester, to Albany, Hartford, and other places, but which, by a small deviation, might pursue the route of the proposed railroad, was 9,360—making a total of 31,720.

Adding to this 50%, which was thought to be a moderate estimate on other lines—twelve weekly stages to Keene, two to Norwich, three through Lancaster to Albany, and daily stages to the Worcester route to Framingham, Natick, Newton Falls and Watertown, making 47,580 passages, with an average fare of $1.50 for each passage,—the annual income would be $71,370.00.

The quantity of goods transported could not be ascertained so accurately, but it was believed that the amount would be 18,000 tons; the whole distance, which at the rate of $3.00 per ton, would make $54,000.00. This opinion was formed in part from the amount of business on the Blackstone canal and partly from information of the transportation from a large number of factories and other places of business. They say: "If it be considered that much of the business of Worcester county and of the country between it and Boston, is still done here, and that the business of the railroad will not be limited to the heavy articles which can be advantageously transported by the canal, and that the railroad will remain open nearly the whole of the season, the above estimate of the transportation of freight, we believe, will not be thought extravagant."

Estimate of annual expense:

Income from passengers,	$71,370
" " transportation,	54,000
	$125,370
Expense,	38,570
Net income,	$86,800

it.[20] It was constructed in three sections; the first, from Boston to Needham (West Newton); the second, from Needham to Hopkinton; and the third, from that place to Worcester.[21] The road was laid with a single track of edge-rails, on cast-iron chairs, resting on wooden sleepers, bedded in trenches filled with stone.[22]

In the latter part of March, 1834, the first locomotive to be set in motion in New England was tried on this road. The rails were then laid as far as Newton, but some delay was caused, as the engine-driver, who was imported from England, did not arrive. On the 4th of April, however, a locomotive was put to work on a gravel train, and three

[20] At the first meeting of the corporation, July 25th, 1831, Nathan Hale, David Henshaw, George Bond, Thomas Motley, Daniel Denny, Joshua Clapp and Henry Williams were elected directors. Nathan Hale was chosen President, and held that office until June 4, 1849. George Morey was the first Treasurer and Clerk. The early superintendents of the road were Amos Binney, May 22, 1832, to January 11, 1833; Nathan Hale, January 11, 1833, to December 2, 1834; and James F. Curtis from December 2, 1834, to April 13, 1839.

[21] The report of the engineer, John M. Fessenden, published in January, 1832, states that the location chosen was more favorable to the object of a direct communication between Boston and Worcester than the northerly route surveyed, which passed through Waltham, Sudbury, Marlboro, Berlin and West Boylston; that although the country was generally hilly, the graduation of the railroad would not have, in any part of it, a greater inclination with the horizon than at the rate of 30 feet in a mile. The Main street in Worcester was found to be 456 feet higher than Charles street in Boston, averaging 10½ feet per mile of the whole distance. It says that the whole amount of the ascent was 554 feet, being only 98 feet greater than the actual elevation of Worcester above Boston; that the length of the road was 43¼ miles—only about 4 miles longer than the straight line. It was also selected as being the best main channel of communication with Boston from several tributary channels.

[22] The work of excavation was begun at Brighton and Needham on August 14, 1832; and just a year later the tracks were laid on this section of the road.

days later a train ran for the first time as far as Newton,[23] a distance of eight or nine miles, carrying a part of the directors and fifty or sixty other persons, for the purpose of making an examination of the road and to try the engine. The party stopped several times for various purposes on the way out. They returned in thirty-nine minutes, including a stop of about six minutes to attach five cars loaded with earth. The engine traveled with ease at the rate of twenty miles an hour.[24]

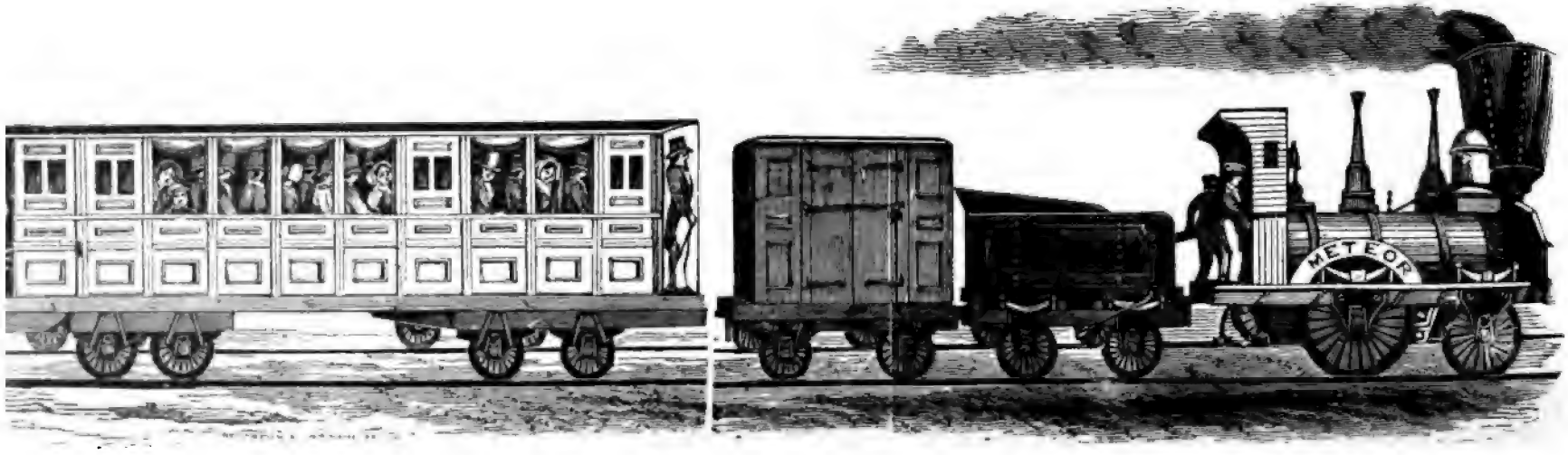
But the regular passenger service did not begin until May 16th. Three trains ran each way daily, leaving Boston at 6 and 10 A. M. and 3.30 P. M., and returning at 7 and 11.15 A. M. and 4.45 P. M. The fare was 37½ cents; children were charged half price. The trip at first was made in nineteen minutes, but this was thought to be faster than was necessary, and by a vote of the directors

[23] "The first locomotive steam engine used in New England, was put in motion yesterday on the Worcester Railroad. The experiment, we learn, was entirely satisfactory."—*Boston Evening Transcript, March 18, 1834.*

"THE FIRST LOCOMOTIVE. Crowds of people were assembled yesterday at the Tremont street terminus of the Worcester Railroad, to witness the operation of the Locomotive Engine. It was the first time we ever saw one in motion, and we candidly confess that we cannot describe the singular sensation we experienced, except by comparing it to that which one feels when anticipation is fulfilled and hope realized. We noted it as marking the accomplishment of one of the mighty projects of the age, and the mind, casting its eye backwards upon the past, as it was borne irresistibly onward, lost itself in contemplation of the probable future."—*Boston Evening Transcript, April 4, 1834.*

"A Locomotive Engine was yesterday employed in hauling gravel on the Boston & Worcester Rail Road. The engine worked with ease, was perfectly manageable, and showed power enough to travel at any desirable speed. The distance traveled was about three miles, and the train usually traversed this distance, both with loaded and with empty cars, in about ten minutes, the engine blowing off waste steam a great part of the time, and evidently capable of carrying a much greater load, or moving with greater rapidity." —*Boston Patriot, April 5, 1834.*

[24] "Boston Daily Advertiser," April 8, 1834.



RAILROAD TRAIN,
SHOWING AN EARLY FORM OF THE BOX CAR.

strange sensations produced on seeing the train of cars come up, and when I started in them for Boston it seemed like a dream."

"On Saturday afternoon (Sept. 20th, 1834) the directors of the Boston & Worcester Railroad invited the stockholders and a few other gentlemen to witness the completion of the road to Hopkinton. The company assembled at the depot at 2 o'clock, and were seated, to the number of about 200, in seven of the largest passenger cars. The cars, with the engine Yankee, were ready to start precisely at the hour appointed; but five minutes grace was given to a few of the party who had not arrived. They then started off at a rapid and steady pace. The weather was unusually fine, and the sweetness of the atmosphere, the rapidity of the motion, and the beauty and novelty of the scenery which were successively presented to view, appeared to produce in all the party an agreeable exhilaration of spirits. The train arrived at Captain Clarke's in Framingham, a distance of twenty-one miles, at a quarter past three o'clock. The party was there met by appointment by Governor Davis, Governor Lincoln, and several other gentlemen from Worcester, who took their seats in the cars, and the train proceeded to Captain Stone's, at the Factory Village in Hopkinton, where they arrived precisely at half-past three. The first appearance of the cars in the village was announced by a salute from a company of artillery, and their nearer approach to the village by the acclamations of a great number of people there assembled. A committee of the citizens of the village invited the party to partake of a collation which was provided for them, and they were escorted by a handsome company of riflemen to the house of Captain Stone. A bountiful repast was there provided, of which the party partook with an agreeable zest, after the excitement pro-

duced by the rapid movement from their places of business to a scene so new and unexpected.

"After the party had finished their repast, and while they were enjoying the fine scenery from the piazzas, the crowd on the green below called upon Governor Davis and expressed a wish to hear an address from him. With this request the Governor complied. He described, in a short address and in a happy manner, the benefits of the enterprise now beginning to be crowned with success, and of improvements for facilitating inter-communication generally. Governor Lincoln being then called upon, followed in some further pertinent remarks on the same topics, and in a complimentary notice of the enterprising spirit with which these improvements are prosecuted.

"While the party were at table the ladies were invited to take seats in the cars, and the military, with their band of music, to take a stand upon the tops of the cars, where they were formed in sections. In this manner they made an excursion of several miles down the road and back, which they appeared to enjoy highly. As they returned, the military on the tops of the cars approached the hotel with arms presented and music playing.

"The train of cars left Hopkinton at thirteen minutes past five, and arrived in Boston at just half-past six, stopping three times on the way to leave some of the party. The distance between two of the mile posts was passed in two minutes and fifteen seconds, and two minutes and twenty seconds.

"The distance from the intended passenger depot in Boston to Hopkinton Factory is 24½ miles, and from the present depot about 24 miles.

"At Clarke's corner, in the southern part of Framingham, two miles distant from Framingham Village, on a beautiful plain near Farm Pond, the directors have established their central depot and watering-place between Bos-

ton and Worcester. This is 21½ miles from the intended depot in Boston, and 22½ from the termination of the railroad in Worcester. It is anticipated that the part of the railroad from Worcester will be usually run in as short a time as that from Boston, notwithstanding the difference of the distance, in consequence of the descent from Worcester, which will accelerate the motion of the cars, and the ascent from Boston, which will retard it.

"At this place a building has been erected to afford a passenger room and other accommodations, having a piazza on the south, upon the main track of the railroad, and another on the north, upon a turnout track. The roof of the piazza on each side projects over the track, so as to afford shelter in rainy weather to persons getting into and out of the cars. In this building will be placed a water-tank, so situated that water may be drawn from it to the tender, standing on the track, on either side of the building. Trains of cars leaving Boston and Worcester at the same hour will reach this place at the same time, or if one should arrive first, while it is detained for taking in water and fuel, which will usually occupy about five minutes, the other will have time to arrive. It is satisfactorily explained by the excursion, on Saturday, that the passage from Boston to Worcester will be easily made in two hours and a half, as the first half of the distance was then traversed, with 200 passengers, in an hour and ten minutes.

"Some delay is occasioned by checking the speed of the cars at the road crossings. To obviate the danger of accidents at these crossings the directors have caused large sign-boards to be placed at each crossing, over the highway, with a conspicuous notice in these words: *Railroad Crossing. Lookout for the Engine.* They are also about erecting, at the crossings of the most frequented roads, gates, consisting of a single bar, which will ordinarily close the railroad track, and when opened for the passing

of the railroad, will close the track of the highway. They have, besides, placed a bell upon the engine, which is rung by the fireman on every approach to the crossing of a highway. These precautions must render the hazard of collision between the engine and travelers on the highway extremely slight. The danger of such accidents has been much exaggerated in the minds of those who have had opportunity to observe the passage of the cars. With the care which has now been taken on this railroad, to give notice of the places of crossing, and of the approach of the engine, we conceive there is no room to apprehend accidents from this source. If travelers on the highways suffer themselves to be run over, it will be from their own carelessness.

"To return to the excursion of Saturday; we believe that most of the party were agreeably surprised at the pleasantness of the route, and the beauty of the scenery which is at various points presented to view. The valley of the Charles river, viewed from a part of the railroad a little this side of the Needham ledge, affords one of the finest prospects to be found in this vicinity. Farther west the railroad passes along the southern extremity of Natick Long Pond, a handsome sheet of water three or four miles in length; it then passes a plain and fertile tract of country in the southerly part of Framingham, and it soon after passes into the valley of Concord river. Along this route the careful observer will be struck with a number of expensive pieces of work in the construction of the railroad. In ascending the western bank of the Charles river there are two excavations of more than fifty feet in depth, through hills, and the earth thus removed is carried into embankments, across the neighboring valleys, of forty feet in height; at Needham and Natick are two excavations of more than twenty feet in depth and several hun-

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1846,
BY E. N. DICKINSON & Co.,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Massachusetts.

been already aware, from the result of the late election in that town, that when a thing is to be done up handsomely they are the men to do it."[28]

Trains ran twice each way daily, leaving Boston at 7 A. M. and 12.30 P. M., and Westboro at 9.30 A. M. and 3 P. M. Stages and express teams from Worcester connected with the trains. Travelers could leave Boston in the morning train and arrive in Springfield and Northampton in the evening. Those going to Hartford took the telegraph line of stages at Hopkinton on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and on the other days passed through Westboro.[29]

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the interest which they had manifested in the success of the great work of improvement in which they were engaged. He remarked that the simple fact that such a number of the friends of this improvement found themselves, in so short a period of time after leaving their occupation on the Boston Exchange, at a distance of more than thirty miles from those busy scenes, in the very heart of the country, with so little exertion and fatigue, afforded conclusive proof of the utility of the work. They had thus accomplished what, as the chairman had justly remarked, would have been thought a few years ago beyond the compass of human power, and what was more important, had accomplished it in a manner so easy and simple that this mode of transportation, rapid as it was, would be found the cheapest manner in which the farmer could carry his produce to market. He hoped that the people of that vicinity would continue to feel the same interest in the success of the enterprise which they had hitherto manifested. The railroad would in a few months be completed to the centre of the county. Its advantages would then be more manifest. Two great and active communities, hitherto separated by a day's journey from each other, would be united into one by being brought almost within the compass of an hourly intercourse. Some of them hoped to see this work of improvement extended much farther—to behold the day when the city of Boston would be placed within an afternoon's ride of the rich valleys of the Connecticut river, and even when the banks of the Hudson would be brought within a day's journey of the metropolis of the Commonwealth.—*Massachusetts Spy*, November 26, 1834.

[28] "Massachusetts Spy," November 19, 1834.

[29] At this time the rolling stock of the railroad, according to the report of the Directors in February, 1835, consisted of three locomotives, thirteen passenger cars and some covered cars for such descriptions of merchandise as

The section of the road between Westboro and Worcester now only remained to be completed. This was delayed on account of the length of time required to excavate the "Deep Cut," about a mile from Worcester, which was known as the "backbone" of the railroad. At length in June it approached so near completion that it was hoped that the formal opening might take place on July 2d. The greatest exertions were made to accomplish this. The work was carried on night and day, and the contractor was offered a large bonus to effect it, but it was found to be impossible, and the celebration was postponed to the 6th.[30]

would be liable to damage from exposure to the weather. Turnouts were laid out and most of them had been completed at distances not exceeding six miles.

[30] The Boston & Worcester Railroad in 1835.

"It is known to all the world, at least to all that part of it which has ever heard of the good city of Boston, that it is situated on a peninsula, with a long neck; and our omnibus is going out in a southerly direction through the street which comes in over the neck, and extends, with no interruption, though with many a curve, into the heart of the city. After riding half a mile thus, through a street of shops, we pull the coach bell opposite to the Worcester railroad office, and, dismounting, we find our way among the crowd of travelers who are arriving in hacks and chaises, down to the train of cars, which are standing under their long sheds with the locomotive engine puffing impatiently before them. The engineer's men are busy oiling the wheels and storing the fuel. The captain of the cars is arranging the passengers and securing the baggage house, an edifice on wheels deserving the name of house quite as much, whether we consider its size and commodiousness, as half of the residences of the Irishmen who have constructed the road. Groups of idlers stand about staring at the cars and the engine, and watching the movements of the engineer, who seems proud of the high-spirited horse he is to drive. He stands at his post, turning the steam cocks every now and then with great gravity, to ascertain the condition of the boiler.

"By and by all is ready. We are seated with twenty or thirty others in what might be called a spacious apartment, considering that it is the interior of a coach, with a broad aisle up and down the interior, and stuffed seats on both sides. Or if we choose a snugger box we take a differently constructed car in another part of the train; it is divided into compartments, one of which

At a meeting of the citizens of Worcester a committee was appointed to make the necessary arrangements, and to determine, among other things, how the entertainment should be given and how the money to defray the expenses should be obtained. They finally agreed that the expenses should be met by the sales of tickets to the table, at $5 each. This measure, coupled with the fact that the ultra temperance men insisted that no ardent spirit or wine should be used at the table, rendered the committee so unpopular that another meeting was called to be held at Bonney's Hotel on Friday evening, June 26th. It was called to order by Abijah Bigelow, Esq., and organized by the choice of Charles Allen, Esq., as chairman, and Jubal Har-

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we may fill, if we choose, with our own little company. When all is ready the bell gives notice to the engineer. The engine puffs and gives a pull, the whole train starts with a heavy jerk, and then trundles on slowly. The carsmen trot along by the side, securing the doors and hurrying in the tardy passengers, and then leaping up, one after another, and clinging to the steps of the cars; the speed increases, and in a few moments we are rolling on with immense force and velocity over the long viaduct which stretches on piles over the extensive marsh which in this direction separates the peninsula of Boston from the main land. We cross roads and bridges, sometimes over marshes and sometimes over water until we reach the undulating upland, and then fly on, now shooting across the plain, now riding along on a high embankment over a ravine, now winding through a fruitful and luxuriant valley. The horses feeding in the pastures look at us a moment and then gallop away. Men, women and children stop to gaze; and the workmen employed in smoothing off and finishing the road (for in America very few undertakings are yet finished) stop and lean on their hoe handles, apparently bracing themselves up by them, as if our velocity made them dizzy.

"Before trying the railroad the traveler always thinks he shall be afraid; and in fact for the first fifteen minutes of the motion most riders do feel a little pale. When running along at the rate of twenty miles an hour, within six inches of the brink of an embankment twenty feet high, one can hardly help speculating a little on the precise nature of the evolution which would be performed if the train should, by any mistake, get off the track. Then, again, as the course of the cars is so precisely determined, there is no need of waste room when passing near the railing of a bridge or the perpendicular wall of ragged rocks which forms the side of a cut through a hill. You

the Town Hall as the only place large enough to accommodate the number of guests.

On Friday morning, July 3d, a locomotive ran through to Worcester, and at half-past two the directors left Boston to view the road. They stopped three times, once as much as fifteen minutes, and arrived in Worcester at a quarter past five.

On the next day the four engines made each four trips between Boston and Worcester, two engines with eleven cars leaving each end of the road at the same time, at intervals of four hours, and conveyed during the day more than *1500 passĕngers* without accident.[31]

On Monday, July 6th, the directors, stockholders and invited guests started from the depot in Washington street at half-past nine. They did not arrive in Worcester until nearly one, however, as speed was not the object on this occasion, the directors wishing the company to have a full opportunity to inspect the road, rather than "to flit like a comet along the track." From the earliest morning the town had been filled with the largest number of people that had probably ever assembled there. Few had even seen a railway train, and gazed in silent wonder as the twelve cars, drawn by two locomotives, rolled into the town amid the booming of cannon and the ringing of bells. Perhaps the most expressive comment came from an inmate of the Insane Hospital, who exclaimed, when the first locomotive was passing, "Well, that beats the very devil. I never before saw a critter go so fast with such short legs." The guests were met at the depot by the Committee of Arrangements, of which Charles Allen was chairman. A procession was formed under the direction of Gen. Nathan Heard, chief marshal, and escorted by the Worcester Light Infantry, Capt. Charles H. Geer (which

[31] "Massachusetts Spy," July 8, 1835.

REV. AARON BANCROFT.

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Boston, one of the directors of the corporation, spoke of the difficulties with which the enterprise had to contend at the outset, without the aid of capitalists, who hesitated to embark in so perilous an adventure. "The work was commenced, and has been completed," said Mr. Williams, "by the *middling classes* of the community."

Sentiments were given by Ex-Governors Lincoln and Davis, George Bond, Esq., one of the directors, Messrs. F.

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abroad, I begin to feel rather anxious, whether we shall be able to stay at home. I remember, sir, to have witnessed a similar feeling in a very interesting family, which it was my good fortune to know, in one of the Western States of the Union. The head of the family had been successfully connected with several Seminaries of Education. Originally established at a College in New England, he had been transferred to another farther West, this side of the mountains:—but when I met him he was at the head of a university in a Western State, and at that time, a fourth call was pending to a sphere of duty still farther West. His wife, a fit partner for a gentleman engaged in those honorable duties, while she rejoiced in the reputation and promoted the usefulness of her husband, felt the yearnings of a true New England heart for home. In speaking of her privations and trials, she said she had one consolation—I expected to hear her mention, (as well she might,) the satisfaction of doing one's duty and promoting the good of others—but she told me with a smile, her consolation was that the *globe was round;* she doubted whether she should get *back* to Boston, but had pretty good hopes of reaching it by keeping on—And in this way at least, Mr. President, I think we have all a pretty fair prospect of bringing up at last, at the point from which we started.

"It is said of an ancient king of Epirus, that he laid a tax and raised an army. 'What will the king do?' said his confidential counsellor. 'We will conquer Italy';—'And what will you do then?';—'Conquer Sicily.' 'And what then?'—'We will then conquer Carthage and the farthest Africa.' 'And what will the king do then?'—'Then,' said the king, 'we will stay at home, and sacrifice to the gods every day, and feast our friends.'—'And could not the king,' said the counsellor, 'do this, even now?' This was proper rebuke to the ambitious prince; but no such reproachful question could be asked of those who are successively planning and accomplishing,—one after another,—these great conquests over space and time, and material obstacles. Their enterprise does not end where it begins. It is to promote, not pecuniary gain alone, but the increase of comfort;—a multiplication of the means of living, and by necessary consequence an increase in the number of the people; that is, in the numbers of the freemen and rational beings, who will be able to subsist

EDWARD EVERETT.

meed of praise which respect and gratitude *this day* award to the intelligence, indefatigable and undiscouraged perseverance, and eminent success of its able and efficient President and Directors."

By Ex-Governor Davis. *"Railroads."*—"We are willing to be rode hard by such monopolies."

By Charles Allen, Esq. *"Boston and Worcester."*—"United together by *bands of iron:* their citizens more

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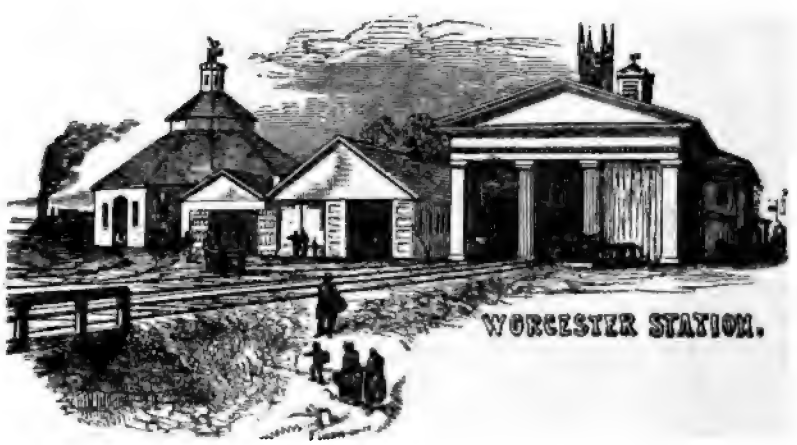
and intellectual effort. In the midst of the immense exertions that are making for the improvement of the mechanical arts and the modes of applying them, there never has been a time when so much was doing for the diffusion of knowledge, and moral, intellectual and religious culture at home and abroad.

"These different developments of the spirit of improvement mutually aid and promote each other. The diffusion of knowledge encourages the progress of the mechanic arts: the progress of the mechanic arts encourages and hastens the diffusion of knowledge. This very enterprise of which we are now assembled to celebrate the fortunate completion, by facilitating communication and increasing the rapidity with which intelligence is transmitted from one place to another, has a direct tendency to elevate the moral and intellectual character of the country, as well as to bring into action with greater vigor its material powers.

"The spirit of improvement, whether exhibited in the mechanical or in the moral and intellectual departments of social life, advances with much more rapidity and facility when it operates upon an open field, than when it is trammelled by existing institutions and established usages. This is the great distinction between the progress of improvement in this country and in Europe. In the old countries, and especially in all matters relating to morals and politics, before the new edifice can be erected an old one must be removed. Honorable associations,—time-honored recollections,—vested interests, must be disturbed. To protect these interests,—under the influence of these associations, large masses of men league together and form a *Conservative* party. In their eyes improvement is destructive. Hence has arisen the clash of opinion, of feeling and of interest which has agitated Europe for two or three centuries, and has not yet reached its termination.

"In this country, on the other hand, we operate in general upon an open field. There is nothing to oppose the progress of improvement, whether in the development of our physical resources, or the founding of our political system:—no chartered rights to be maintained,—no prescriptive wrongs to be respected: Hence improvement proceeds at once with unexampled rapidity,



FOSTER STREET STATION FROM THE EAST.
From Bradbury and Guild's Railroad Chart, 1847.

Sent by the Hon. A. Lawrence of Boston. *"The Boston and Worcester Railroad."*—"It is one more link added to that chain of *Internal Improvement* which is destined to bind together in one perfect Union this wide-spread Republic."

By Dr. Park of Worcester. *"The march of mind*—demonstrated by the accelerated mind of matter."

By Ex-Governor Lincoln. *"The accomplished Engi-*

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this country, and in which it is exhibited in the Boston & Worcester Rail Road —the improvement that builds without being first obliged to pull down."—*Massachusetts Spy*, July 15, 1835.

SPEECH OF P. P. F. DEGRAND.

"This gentleman appears to be a universal favorite on public occasions, and we believe he rarely, if ever, fails to be called on for a speech, when present, at every suitable opportunity. His views are generally correct, and he has a peculiar talent for presenting them in such form as is best calculated for effect on an auditory. As many of our readers who were unable to hear him at the late celebration will doubtless be pleased with reading his remarks on that occasion, we avail ourselves of the report of them which we find in the *Boston Gazette*:

"Mr. President: The Boston Long Wharf, being 1,600 feet Long, held, but yesterday, a distinguished place among the Longest Wharves in the world. There is nothing to be compared with it in Philadelphia, or Baltimore, or New Orleans,—or even in that great emporium,—the City of New York. In two short months, however, we shall have completed and ready for use, a yet much longer Wharf:—and it will be for a Sea-Port, as yet unborn. Can you, Sir, unfold the name of this Sea-Port?—or name the Wharf?

"Its lower end will be on the Ocean and will have a sufficient depth of water for Merchant vessels of the largest class. Its upper end will reach to the very heart of this Commonwealth, and almost the very spot on which we stand. The Head of this Wharf being in Worcester, its Owners in Boston have very appropriately christened it '*Worcester Wharf.*' It is next South of Depot Wharf, and will have upon it the Boston & Worcester Rail Road Track. If its Owners had not disliked a long name, they surely would have called it '*Worcester Long Wharf,*' because it incontestibly is, the Longest Wharf in the known world. I take it for granted that you have never heard of any other Wharf 43 miles long!

"I trust, Sir, that you are by this time fully aware that your Town is (by the mere touch of the Magic Wand of Fulton) converted into a Sea-Port. And I beg leave (through you) to request the Hon. Senator on your right not to

neers of the Corporation, who, with the enthusiasm of enterprise and the confidence of science, in order to put others upon a *Rail,* were often obliged to 'get themselves into hot water.'"

By Dr. Fiske of Worcester. "*The* Head *and the* Heart *of the Commonwealth.*"—"A healthy circulation has been immeasurably accelerated, though propelled through the meanderings of a *curved Spine.*"

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fail to cause Worcester, at the very next Session of Congress,—to be made 'a Port of Entry.' This is a matter of great import. It is indeed a novel light. But why should it be thought strange to find Worcester (which is only 42 miles inland) made a Port of Entry, by steam; ? while we do know that also by steam, St. Louis has been made a Port of Entry, although it be 1,500 miles inland:—and although, even as late as 1807, an Official Report to Congress on Internal Improvements, by one of the ablest men of the age, declared it impossible to navigate up the Western Waters!

"I would press upon you the importance of requesting the Hon. Senator on your right to make Worcester a Port of Entry (if you can). I want the Crates of Earthen Ware, for the whole of this County, to be ordered, in Liverpool, direct by the Worcester Dealer in that brittle article;—and to be entered and bonded at the Worcester Custom House;—and then to be landed at Worcester Long Wharf, direct in to the Rail Road Car,—so that it reach a store in Worcester with as little cost of time and of money as it would reach a store in Boston, if landed on Boston Long Wharf:—nay, with even less chance of breakage than it would by being jolted on the Boston pavements.

"And why should we not, hereafter, class Worcester *as a Sea-Port?* Is not Malaga known as a Sea-Port? and Lima known as a Sea-Port? although the Harbor lay separated entirely from the Town, and although the expense to and from the Shipping Harbor is much greater, for either City, than it will be from Worcester Long Wharf to Worcester—or from Worcester to Worcester Long Wharf?

"Worcester, Sir, is a Sea-Port!—Why is it not so, while your resident Dealer can (just like a Boston Dealer) order a Cargo of Coal, or Lumber, or Mackerel, bought at Philadelphia, Eastport, or Hingham, and landed at Worcester Long Wharf directly from the Ships' tackle into the Rail Road Car, and thence directly into his own Warehouse, subject to no charge in Boston other than the very same Wharfage which would have to be paid by the Boston Dealer?—Nay, subject to less charge than a Boston Dealer would have to pay;—because, at Worcester, he can store these bulky goods cheaper than the Boston Dealer can in Boston.

tion of the greatest and most useful public work ever accomplished in New England."

In the course of the afternoon it was announced that a committee from the state of New York was present to make arrangements to continue the road to the boundary line beween that state and Massachusetts.

They afterwards addressed a meeting held for this purpose, stating that if the road was continued, companies were organized which would immediately take it up and carry it to the Hudson, where it could be united with works already completed, thus extending a steam communication from Boston west as far as the upper end of Lake Superior, and north from Albany to Quebec. Other delegates were present from four different towns, anxious to "lap on" to the present road from Springfield, Norwich and Hartford.[33]

During the collation about 500 ladies and school children were taken to Westboro and back.

The company broke up at about four o'clock, and the visitors returned to Boston. On the train a meeting of

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be its daily food, trade withers and dies, as the tree whose sap has been cut off, or a girded tree. One of the greatest merchants of the world once told me: 'I never send a vessel to a poor place; for if I get all they possess I get nothing.'

"The richer, then, Sir, is the country, the richer the city; and, reciprocally, the richer the city, the richer the country. The common weal is thus advanced unceasingly in geometrical progression.

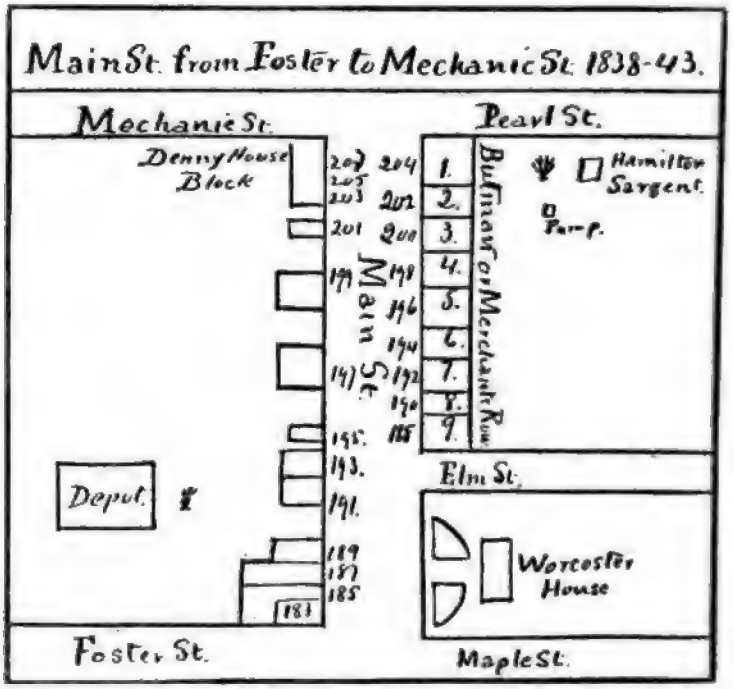
"Allow me, then, in conclusion, to present to you as my sentiment:

"*The Heart of the Commonwealth:*—may its pulsations, through innumerable tracts of Rail Roads, throughout this vast Continent, be unceasingly increasing and unceasingly felt, from now to the end of time."—*Massachusetts Spy*, July 15, 1835.

[33] July 2nd and 3d a Convention of about two hundred delegates from various towns in Connecticut and Massachusetts assembled in the Town Hall in Worcester to consider the question of extending the railroad in the direction of the city and state of New York. It was

Resolved. That the Convention deem it highly important that Rail Road communications should be opened from Worcester toward the City and State of New York.

Resolved. That the members of this Convention be requested to communicate all the information they possess respecting the several proposed routes. —*Massachusetts Spy, July 8, 1835.*



A ROUGH DIAGRAM OF MAIN STREET, BETWEEN FOSTER AND MECHANIC STREETS.

No. 207.	Blanchard & Lesure,	1839
205.	Lesure & Wygant,	1840
	F. W. Eaton & Co.,	1841
203.	J. P. Southgate & Co.,	1838
	W. D. Lewis,	1839
201.	Lakin & Bemis,	1840
199.	H. Sabin & Co.,	1838
	Leonard & Tyler,	1839
	J. B. Tyler & Co.,	1840
197.	E. F. Dixie & Co.,	1840
	Caleb Newcomb.	
195.	James H. Wall,	1840
	Wm. Coe.	
	John Warden,	1841
193.	C. C. Clapp,	1840
	S. P. Fitch,	1842
191.	Levi Clapp,	1840
189.	Nathan Harkness,	1839
	Simeon Thompson,	1841
	A. M. Driscoll,	1841
185.	Henry Scott,	1839
183.	Jabez Bigelow,	1839

No. 204.	W. & A. Brown,	1835
202.	Emory Washburn,	1840
	Chas. W. Hartshorn,	1840
	I. M. Barton.	
200.	J. P. Kettell & Co.,	1835
	J. B. Tyler & Co.,	1841
	J. H. Rickett,	1841
	M. B. Green.	
198.	H. H. Chamberlin,	1839
	J. Fletcher,	1840
	J. B. Hartwell,	1840
	B. F. Mann & Co.	
	J. H. Everett.	
196.	Wm. Lincoln,	1836
194.	Francis Blake,	1836
	Butman & Burt,	1842
192.	Dunbar (R. D.), Bigelow (John) & Co.,	1836
	Dunbar & Story,	1838
	Nath'l Tead,	1840
	Handy, Luther & Co.,	1842
190.	S. M. Burnside,	1840
	Marsh & Emerson,	1839
	National Ægis,	1840
	O. H. Blood, M. D.,	1840
188.	W. & E. B. Coe,	1836
	W. & S. T. Coe,	1837
	D. Heywood.	

From "Random Recollections of Worcester," by Nathaniel Paine.

the directors was held, and it was then decided to continue the road to Albany.[34]

After this the trains started from Boston and Worcester at the same hours—6 A. M., 12 M. and 4 P. M. They did not always leave Worcester on time, however, as they waited for the arrival of the southern and western stages, which were often late. The trip was usually made in from two and one-half to three hours, including stops at ten stations. The fare, at first $1.50, was raised in the autumn of 1836 to $2.00, but was restored to the original price three years later. The charges for freight were $3.50 per ton from Boston to Worcester and $3.00 from Worcester to Boston.

The original part of the Foster Street Station, which was the Worcester terminus of the road for over forty years, was built in June, 1835, and at first stood to the southwest of its final location, occupying part of the land on which the Worcester Bank block now stands. A footpath led to Main street, and on this, in front of the station, stood an elm tree, in the crotch of which was hung a bell, which, for many years, was rung to announce the departure of the trains.

When the southern train-house was built, in 1839, for the use of the Norwich and Worcester road, this was moved down and attached to the eastern end of the building.

The cost of the Boston & Worcester Railroad was $1,500,000. As an investment it was profitable from the beginning. When the road was opened to Worcester, the first dividend of 2 per cent. was paid, and after that semi-annual dividends, never falling below 3 per cent., were regularly paid until January, 1868, when it was consolidated with the Western Railroad. The average rate of dividend during that period was a little less than 7 per cent.

The receipts for the first year were:

[34] Massachusetts Spy, July 8, 1835.

April, 1834,	$1020.26	Nov.,	$2998.43
May,	3022.81	Dec.,	2500.00
June,	2680.40	Jan.,	1502.21
July,	3882.77	Feb.,	1982.05
Aug.,	4706.93	Mar.,	2922.17
Sept.,	3101.84	Apr. to the 18th,	2160.60
Oct.,	3258.16		
			$35,747.93
Received for freight, chiefly since December,			4,892.66
Total receipts,[35]			$40,631.88

The gross receipts for 1836, the first complete year of the operation of the road, were $183,000, an excess of $40,500 over the estimate made at the time the road was built. In 1840 they amounted to $267,000; in 1850, $758,000; in 1855, $1,000,000; in 1861, $928,000; in 1865, $1,700,000; in 1867, $1,940,000. In the meanwhile the capital stock had been increased from $1,250,000 in 1836 to $5,000,000. The net receipts were 43 per cent of the gross in 1837, and 40 per cent in 1867. The market value of the stock was always necessarily high, ranging from $75 per share in 1837 and 1857 to $160 in 1863.[36]

About three-fourths of the stockholders in 1835 resided in Boston, and the remainder in New York and other places. It is said that in Worcester only $5,000 was subscribed. Though its citizens had subscribed liberally to public works in the times past, two undertakings, the Boston and Worcester turnpike, and the Blackstone canal, had proved almost ruinous, and the railroad at its commencement was an experiment of which the success was very doubtful. Nor were the Worcester capitalists alone in this feeling of distrust. As late as January, 1833, Francis Stanton obtained the signatures of the holders of 1000 shares of the stock to call for a meeting to consider the question of abandoning the enterprise on the ground that it was impracticable.

[35] "Boston Courier," April, 1835. [36] Memorial History of Boston, IV, 129.

363d Meeting.

Tuesday evening, October 1, 1901.

Met in the Library room, President Crane in the chair. Others present: Messrs. Arnold, Bancroft, Dayton, Dickinson, Davidson, Darling, Ely, Eaton, William T. Forbes, Geer, Gould, C. G. Harrington, Mills, George Maynard, M. A. Maynard, H. G. Otis, Major Stiles, Seagrave, C. E. Staples, Williamson, Mrs. J. H. Bancroft, Mrs. Boland, Mrs. Darling, Mrs. William T. Forbes, Miss Hay, Mrs. M. A. Maynard, Miss Moore, Miss M. E. Reed, Mrs. F. Wyman, Miss Agnes Waite, Mrs. Williamson, Miss Barrett, Miss Boland, Miss Hopkins and Mrs. Stiles.

The records of the last three meetings were read and approved.

Librarian reported additions for the past month: 144 bound volumes, 286 pamphlets, 125 papers, and 33 miscellaneous articles. Calling attention to a wooden bowl loaned the society, it was made by Eleazer Flagg in 1732, hand-made from a gnarl or knot of a tree that grew on Chestnut hill in Grafton, Mass.

Attention was also called by the Librarian to a collection of Moorish coin presented by Mr. H. A. Young, and then to that very rare and almost unique relic for this country, the *quern*, or hand mill, recently brought from Ireland and presented to the society by Mr. Timothy McGillicuddy of Worcester. Mr. Richard O'Flynn, a charter member of this so-

ciety, had for years past been trying through the assistance of friends to secure one of these interesting relics of Roman occupation of the British Isles. But until now all attempts had failed to secure the article in question. The present season, as Mr. McGillicuddy was preparing to make another of his periodical visits to his mother country, Mr. O'Flynn warned him not to return without a quern for the Worcester Society of Antiquity. As soon as his feet touched the soil of Ireland he began making inquiries for the object of his search. Considerable time elapsed, however, before one was located, buried in the hearth of a gentleman's fireplace. Obtaining consent from the owner to remove it he found, greatly to his disappointment, one of the stones broken. Continuing the search he visited a country fair at Killarney. While pressing inquiries there an elderly gentleman by the name of Daniel O'Sullivan informed Mr. McGillicuddy there was one on his place, if the boys had not destroyed it. A trip to the farm in townland of "Rusheen," Parish of Glenflesk, County Kerry, was at once made, and there buried in the dirt was the coveted mill. The day following Mr. O'Sullivan drove to the village of Killarney in his quaint little donkey cart bearing the long-sought prize, which, after generously rewarding the farmer for his trouble, was boxed up and sent to Queenstown. There it was placed on the steamship New England, leaving that port August 30, and arrived in Boston, Mass., Sep-

tember 6, 1901, from whence it was soon delivered in Worcester, and formally presented to the society and placed on exhibition at this meeting. On motion made by Mr. M. A. Maynard, a vote of thanks was extended to Messrs. Timothy McGillicuddy and Richard O'Flynn for their generous gift to the society. Accompanying the gift was a paper written by Mr. O'Flynn on the subject of querns, which was read by Mr. Thomas A. Dickinson, the Librarian, and received with very great interest.

QUERNS.

As a relic of the ancient Irish households the hand-mill, or "quern," dates far back into pre-historic times. That it was in general use in Ireland is evident from the number of perfect and broken portions so frequently found in bogs, and in the neighborhood of ancient raths.

Frequent mention is made of them in the old tales. In the vellum manuscript, known as the "Book of Leinster," in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, it is stated that when MacRoth, the herald of "Queen Mave" of Connaught, was sent to Cuchullan to induce the latter to forsake the Ultonians (the forces of Ulster), and become the vassal of Queen Mave, Cuchullan in the course of his reply says, "I would not do it, for if our bondwomen were taken away from us, our freewomen would be obliged to work the 'querns,' and we would be without milk, if our milch cows were taken away from us."

In the life of St. Bridget in the "Speckled book," now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, the following passage occurs: "Dubthach became so displeased with Bridget, his daughter, because she distributed so much of his property in charity, he and his wife (Bridget's stepmother) decided to sell Bridget as a slave, and so he went into his chariot and took Bridget with him, and he said to her, 'It is not through honor or regard for thee that I am bringing thee into a chariot, but to take thee and sell thee to grind at the quern of Dunlang, son of Enda, the King of Laigin (Leinster).' "

Many other documentary proofs exist as to the great antiquity of the quern. In the Brehon Laws it was expressly ordained that the daughters of the Finne, family of the tenant, should be trained to the use of the quern, the sieve, and the kneading of dough.

Although water-mills came into existence in Ireland in the second century, the quern continued to be used in the

houses of the people, and even to-day in the remote western districts of Ireland it is still used. Within less than fifty years it was in general use in the southwest part of the island.

There are many residents of Worcester who saw them in use in their homes. Mr. McGillicuddy tells of a trial of strength and endurance, which occurred when he was a boy, that we of the present generation might consider almost incredible; two Irish women ground, on a wager, with one of these handmills, 40 stone, or 560 pounds, of meal in one day. It was customary in Ireland many years ago to pass the quern from one family to another in the village, that they might grind meal for the use of its members, as there was at times but one mill owned in the village.

In course of time the owners of the water-mills appear to have become a privileged class, as they succeeded in obtaining charters for the destruction of querns on the ground that they interfered with their trade, which, no doubt, accounts for the large number of broken querns which have been found buried in bogs and elsewhere throughout the country. As recently as 1794 that tyrannical prohibition seems to have been exercised; a William Acheson of Roseagh, who was then proprietor of the Kesh Mills, in the county Fermanagh, gave orders to his miller, Stephen Bedford, to break all the querns he could find, and when any neighbor would borrow a quern,[1] it was as carefully concealed from Stephen Bedford as an illicit still would be from the exciseman.

In pagan graves, querns have frequently been found alongside the remains of females, just as weapons, stone and bronze, have been found interred with them.

[1] The word "hand quern" is pure German. Among the Irish and the Gaelic-Scotch the "hand-mill" is called "Clogh-vroe," signifying "a grinding stone"—stone—grind.

Many centuries ago the Legislature of Scotland endeavored to discourage these awkward mills, so prejudicial to the landlord, who had been at the expense of others.

In 1284, in the time of Alexander III, it was provided "that no man sall presume to grind gukeit, maishlock, or rye, in hand-mylne, except he be compelled by storme, or be in lack of mills, gruhik soulde grinde the corn, and in this case gif a man grind at hand-mylnes, he shall gif the threllien measure, as milture, gif any man, contravenes this our proclamation, he sall tyne his mill perpetuallie" (you can hardly understand this).

In England the landlord obliged his tenants to make use of the more expeditious method of grinding by water-mill, and empowered his miller to search out and break any quern he can find, as machines that defraud him of his toll.

That the quern was in general use over Europe, Asia and Africa has been proved by the accounts of various ancient and modern travelers, but in particular by Dr. Clarke, a famous English traveler; when he visited the Greek island of Cyprus he saw the quern in the house of his guide's father, which he thus describes:

"I observed upon the ground the sort of stones used in grinding corn, called querns—common also to Lapland, and in all parts of Palestine; these are the primeval mills of the world, and they are still found in all corn-growing countries where rude and ancient custom have not been liable to those changes introduced by refinement. The employment of grinding with these mills is confined solely to females, and the practice illustrates the observation of our Saviour, alluding to this custom in His prediction concerning the day of judgment: 'Two women shall be grinding at the mill—the one shall be taken, and the other left.'"

When Dr. Clarke visited Palestine, he stopped in a vil-

lage near Jerusalem, and saw the quern at work, which he thus describes: "Looking from the window into the court-yard belonging to the house, we beheld two women grinding at the mill in a manner most forcibly illustrating the saying of our Saviour before alluded to; they were preparing flour to make our breakfast, as it is always customary in the country when a stranger arrives. The two women, seated on the ground opposite to each other, held between them two round, flat stones, such as are called querns; in the centre of the upper stone was a cavity for pouring in the corn, and by the side of this an upright wooden handle for moving the stone; as the operation began, one of the women with the right hand pushed the handle to the woman opposite, who again sent it to her companion, thus communicating a rotary and very rapid motion to the upper stone, their left hands being all the while employed in feeding the corn as fast as the bran and flour escaped from the sides of the machine."

In Ireland the corn was generally dried in an iron pot over a slow fire, and kept constantly stirred to prevent it burning, and when it arrived at a certain degree of crispness, it was taken out to be ground. A linen sheet was placed underneath the stones, which were a little elevated from the floor on a firm support. Two women generally worked the quern, one sitting on a hassock facing the other, the quern between them, the sheet being placed or gathered over their knees to receive the meal coming from the mill, each in her turn taking hold of the handle, turning it with a degree of velocity much greater than inexperienced people imagine; both fed, as it was called, that is, putting the corn into the large hole (called the eye) in the upper stone. The feeding required dexterity in avoiding a blow of the handle in its rapid rotary motion, and at the same time to drop the corn evenly into the eye without scattering it. The process of shelling or hulling was never

performed, but the grain in the husk ground down together, so that the meal appeared at first very dark and rough, but was afterwards sifted. It required little cooking; the ordinary way of using it was to mix the meal in its raw state with milk, baking it in a covered pot, or a gridiron, or making "stirabout" (which we call pudding). This simple, wholesome and healthy mixture was called "crondie," and eaten without any other accompaniment than milk; the peat drying, which the corn underwent, prevented the meal from having the raw taste perceptible in meal made in water-mills.

Amid the ruins of Pompeii, in a bake-shop, one of these mills was found. They were also used in the highlands of Scotland, and traces of them may be found there even at the present time. Henry Benton, in his book "Manners and Customs of the Jews," says it was one of those millstones that the woman of Thebeg cast upon the head of Abimelech. Jud. 9:53. See also Matt. 18:6.

These mills ground the flour slowly, so it was the employment of every day to grind some flour. This sound, and the women singing as they work the mill, are heard in the morning early in the houses of the East, and are considered as a sign that the people are well and active. When it is not heard, the neighbors fear that all is not well. Ecc. 12:4; Jer. 25:10.

As the millstones were so necessary in preparing the daily food for each family, the Israelites were forbidden to take the nether or the upper millstone to pledge: for he taketh a man's life to pledge. Deut. 24:6. See also Gen. 18:6; I Sam. 21:3.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE IN PUBLIC LIBRARY.

Grave-mounds, and their Contents. London, 1870. Illustrated; pp. 295. Very brief. Groombridge & Son. A very interesting volume on Archæology by Llewellyn Jewett.

The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon. By Thomas Wright. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1875; pp. 404. Only a few lines.

Lake-dwellers of Switzerland. By Dr. F. Keller. London: Longmans & Green, 1866; pp. 25. Short account of primitive mills.

Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons and Ornaments of Great Britain. By John Evans. New York: D. Appleton, 1872; pp. 232. Devotes two pages to the subject, but nothing additional to what I have written, as it deals chiefly with the Irish hand-mill, which is declared by the writer extremely rare.

After the presentation by Nathaniel Paine, Esq., of the name of Edgar Reed for membership to the society, the following was read by the President:

THE BOSTON AND WORCESTER TURNPIKE.

The Worcester Turnpike Corporation dates its existence from the 7th day of March, 1806.

The incorporators named in the act were Aaron Davis, Luther Richardson, Samuel Welles, Charles Davis and William H. Sumner. Davis and Sumner were authorized to call the first meeting. A board of directors was chosen and officers chosen; their names may possibly be found in Boston, where meetings of the corporation and of the directors were held. Luther Richardson was chosen Clerk, and William H. Sumner Treasurer. These names we get from the first notices published. They were both changed later. The road was to run from Roxbury to Worcester, beginning at Roxbury street, in Roxbury, crossing the Charles river near Elliot's Mills, in Newton, through Needham, Natick, Framingham, Southboro, Westboro, Shrewsbury, crossing Quinsigamond pond, and continuing north of Bladder pond, to the street in Worcester near the Court House.

Under the law granting authority and powers to such corporations, it was provided, first, that a committee from the Legislature should view the route proposed by the petitioners, and lay out the same, adjust matter of damages, etc., on account of taking land, etc. This commit-

tee named in the bill was Hon. Bezaleel Taft, Nicholas Tillinghast and Silas Holman.

Having secured their act of incorporation, the managers solicited subscribers for stock; and the takers of stock issued by the corporation were termed Proprietors. This stock was issued in shares, and under the law considered as personal estate, and transferable by deed, acknowledged before a justice of the peace, and a record of it kept by the clerk of the corporation in a book for that purpose.

More than a year was consumed in securing a sufficient number of proprietors before active operations for constructing the road were inaugurated.

March 24, 1807, Bezaleel Taft, as chairman, issued his notice as follows:

> The committee appointed by the General Court to locate the Worcester Turnpike, and to assess damages to those whose lands may be taken for said road, hereby give notice that they will meet at Coolidge's Tavern, in Worcester, to perform said duties, on Tuesday, the 14th day of April next, at 8 o'clock A. M.

About the same time there also appeared in the Worcester Spy the following:

TURNPIKE CONTRACTORS.

The Directors of the Worcester Turnpike Corporation will receive proposals for making the whole or any part of the road from Brookline to Worcester, a distance of 34 miles, the road to be built in the best manner. And no proposals will be received except such as are accompanied by satisfactory recommendations of the character and ability of the contractor.

Particulars will be communicated on application to Aaron Davis or George Zeigler, Roxbury; Oliver Fiske, Worcester, or Wm. H. Sumner, Boston.

Jan'y 17, 1807.

The Spy of Jan. 21, 1807, has the following:

LUMBER WANTED.

For a Floating Bridge on the Worcester Turnpike at the Pond between Worcester and Shrewsbury, viz.:

157 pieces round Chestnut Timber, 42 ft. long, 18 in. diameter in centre.
60 pieces round Chestnut Timber, 32 ft. long, 18 in. diameter in centre.
60 pieces round Chestnut Timber, 20 ft. long, 18 in. diameter in centre.
30 pieces hewed Chestnut Timber, 42 ft. long, 10x12 in. sq.
196 pieces hewed Chestnut Timber, 22 ft. long, 6x12 in. sq.
44 pieces sawed Chestnut Timber, 29 ft. long, 6x6 in. sq.
120 pieces sawed Chestnut Timber, 7 ft. long, 6x6 in. sq.
60 pieces sawed Chestnut Plank, 21 ft. long, 2½x12 in. sq.
18,600 ft. Chestnut Plank, 15½ ft. long, 2½ in. thick.
18,600 ft. White Pine Plank, 15½ ft. long, 3 in. thick.
1000 pieces White Oak, 30 inches long.
100 pieces White Oak, 20 inches long, suitable for pins.

Whoever is disposed to furnish a part or the whole of the above materials and to deliver them at the aforesaid Pond as soon as may be, will please to make his proposals immediately to Oliver Fiske, agent for building said Bridge.

Worcester, Jan. 7, 1807.

Oliver Fiske, whom we thus learn was agent for building this floating bridge, kept a general store in Worcester, advertising grass seed, West Indian goods and groceries; red and black morocco leather, spring wheat, and a few tickets in the 2d class Harvard College lottery. He was also a dealer in real estate, and doctor of medicine, and secretary of the Medical Society here.

Under date of Feb. 16, 1807, we find this:

LUMBER YET WANTED.

As the plan for the Floating Bridge to be built on the Worcester Turnpike was found to admit of some im-

provement, the proposals for materials have been suspended.

The subscriber is now ready to receive proposals for the following materials, which he has not yet contracted for, viz.:

140 pieces round Chestnut Timber, 42 ft. long, 18 in. diameter in centre.
62 pieces round Chestnut Timber, 32 ft. long, 18 in. diameter in centre.
62 pieces round Chestnut Timber, 32 ft. long, 12 in. diameter in centre.
32 pieces square Chestnut Timber, 42 ft. long, 10x12 in.
44 pieces square Chestnut Timber, 31 ft. long, 6x6, 1st sawed 12x12, and then quartered.
130 pieces square Chestnut Timber, 7 ft. long, 6x6, 1st sawed 12x12, and then quartered.
7000 ft. Chestnut Plk., 15½ ft. long, 2 in. thick.
9000 ft. White Pine Plk., 15½ ft. long, 3 in. thick.
5500 Pins, 2 ft. long, 1½ in. diameter, of White Oak.
100 Chestnut Plank, 20 ft. long, 2x13 sq.

Oliver Fiske, Agent for building said Bridge.

Then comes the call for money:

Notice is hereby given to the proprietors of the Worcester Turnpike Corporation that the directors have voted an assessment of ten dollars on each share, to be paid to the treasurer on or before the 11th day of May next.

Wm. H. Sumner, Treas.

Boston, April 24, 1807.

N. B.—Those proprietors who reside in the county of Worcester are requested to pay their assessments to Oliver Fiske, who is empowered to receive the same.

Work undoubtedly was well under way by the time of the following notice:

The proprietors of the Worcester Turnpike Corporation are hereby informed that the Directors have voted a fourth assessment of twenty dollars on each share, to be paid to the treasurer on or before the 15th day of October next.

The prompt payment of the assessments is all the Directors require to make them have this work completed at an early period.

Wm. H. Sumner, Treas.

Sept. 29, 1807.

N. B.—The proprietors in the county of Worcester are requested to pay their assessments to Oliver Fiske, Esq., of Worcester, who is authorized to receive the same.

Luther Richardson, clerk of the corporation, under date, Boston, Oct. 15, 1807, published the following:

The proprietors of the Worcester Turnpike Corporation are hereby notified that their annual meeting for the choice of officers of said corporation for the year ensuing will be holden at Vila's Hotel, in Boston, on Thursday, 26th day of November next, at 3 o'clock P. M.

Per order of the Directors.

As the date fixed for this meeting came on the same day appointed by the Governor for Thanksgiving, another notice appeared under date of Nov. 15, changing the time for the annual meeting to Thursday, Dec. 3.

The next notice appears over the name of a new officer of the corporation:

At a meeting of the Directors of the Worcester Turnpike Corporation, held at Vila's Hotel, in Boston, on the 4th day of December, inst., Voted, that another assessment of $20 be laid on each share of the proprietors of said corporation, to be paid into the treasury on or before the first day of January next, which assessment they are requested to pay to William Brown, Treasurer, for the Worcester Turnpike Corporation, No. 13 Broad street.

Boston, Dec. 14, 1807.

N. B.—All arrears due from any proprietor on former assessments are requested to be immediately paid.

Mr. Brown seemed to put some life into his notices; whether more money was collected by that means does not appear:

Notice is hereby given that the Directors have ordered another assessment of $20 on each share, to be paid by the proprietors on or before May 16 next; and further notice the meeting that was holden at Vila's Hotel, Boston, April 14, was adjourned to Thursday, 26th May next, 4 P. M., at Vila's Hotel, Boston.

Punctual attendance of corporation is requested.

William Brown,

Treasurer for the Worcester Turnpike Corporation.

N. B.—Any proprietor who neglected to pay past assessments are requested to forward the same, without delay, to the Treasurer, No. 13 Broad street, Boston.

April 18, 1808.

Boston, Sept. 1, 1808.

At a meeting of the Directors Worcester Turnpike Corporation, held at Vila's Hotel, Boston, Voted, another assessment of $20 on each and every share, to be paid before Oct. 10 next.

William Brown, Treasurer.

N. B.—Road being nearly accomplished, proprietors who have neglected to pay past assessments are requested to forward the same immediately to their Treasurer.

The next notice that was found in the Worcester Spy was issued by Luther Richardson, proprietor's clerk, under the date of October 7, 1808, Boston:

For the annual meeting of the corporation to be held at Vila's Hotel, Boston, on Tuesday, November 8 next, at 10 o'clock A. M., to choose officers for ensuing year, and such other business as shall be found necessary or expedient for the interest for said corporation.

The Turnpike is now nearly completed, and the concern is drawing towards a close, and general and punctual attendance is requested.

This was followed by one from Mr. Richardson in the Spy of December 28, 1808:

WORCESTER TURNPIKE.

Notice is hereby given the Directors have laid another assessment of $20 on each share of the proprietors of said

Turnpike, which assessment is ordered paid into the treasury within thirty days from date hereof.

L. Richardson, Clerk.

Boston, December 8, 1808.

After a respite of nearly a year, the attention of the proprietors again is called:

Boston, October 9, 1809.

Notice is hereby given of another assessment of $20 on each share of the proprietors of the Worcester Turnpike Corporation, to be paid within thirty days to the treasurer, William Brown.

The proprietors are also informed that the Turnpike road is now finished.

The Toll houses are erected, and that a balance remains due the laborers that must be paid without delay.

Those proprietors who have not paid some of their last assessments cause much delay and injustice to many who have paid promptly, and the laborers whose demands the treasurer can't meet without the assessments are duly paid, and to increase expense by collecting by legal process (of which but a single instance has occurred), is unpleasant and unprofitable to the parties.

William Brown,
Treasurer, Worcester Turnpike Corporation.

In the Spy of Nov. 22, 1809, a call is made for the annual meeting to be held at Stone's Tavern, Newbury street, Boston, Thursday, Nov. 23, 1809, 10 o'clock A. M., to choose officers for ensuing year. (L. Richardson, clerk.)

In the Spy of June 6, 1810, we find:

At a meeting of the proprietors of the Worcester Turnpike Corporation May 31, 1810, it was Voted, that the treasurer be instructed to give public notice to all proprietors who have not paid their respective assessments, unless paid within 60 days, suits will be brought to recover the same immediately after the 60 days.

No assessments have been laid since last November, and the Turnpike is completed.

The meeting of the proprietors stands adjourned to first Thursday in September next, 10 o'clock A. M., at Stone's Tavern, Newbury street, Boston.

William Brown,
Treasurer for the Worcester Turnpike Corporation.
June 2, 1810.

Boston, Oct. 23, 1810, the clerk, Mr. L. Richardson, issued a call for the annual meeting of the corporation to meet at Stone's Tavern, Newbury street, Boston, Thursday, November 29, 10 o'clock A. M., to choose officers for the ensuing year and other business that may come before the meeting.

This meeting was adjourned to Dec. 20, same time and place.

In the Spy of Jan. 9, 1811, we find a notice:

WORCESTER TURNPIKE.

To be sold on the floor of the Exchange Coffee House, Boston, Monday, February 4, 1811:

14 shares, on which is due $220 each share.
8 shares, on which is due $200 each share.
1 share, on which is due $190 each share.

The number of each share is given in this notice, and they were to be sold at public auction to the highest bidder.

(The notice signed.)

William Brown, Treasurer.
Jan. 1, 1811.

From the perusal of these several notices we may obtain something of the history of this enterprise.

For the past half dozen years this Commonwealth has been laboring under the popular demand for better roads, and millions of dollars have been expended out of the state treasury to make transportation by highway more easy and convenient.

A similar demand for better roads existed about that period in the history of the Commonwealth covered by

the publication of the notices just read. At that time, however, instead of the state assuming the responsibility of construction and the success or the failure of the enterprise, such costly schemes were carried through by a few individuals associating together for the purpose, and either raising money with which to complete the work by selling lottery tickets or issuing shares to subscribers of stock, and to be assessed as the cash was required.

Within a few years of the passage of the act giving life to the Worcester Turnpike Corporation, more than sixty other turnpike corporations were given birth by our General Court, and all these corporations were compelled to proceed under the same general act passed by the Legislature, which marked out the lines they were to follow. First, as we have already described, a committee from the Legislature was to view, lay out and adjust damages for the taking of land, the petitioners to pay all expenses of this committee.

Application might also be made to the Court of General Sessions of the county where the road was to be built, for the court to view, or appoint a committee of five to view the route, etc. Gates must be placed ten miles apart, where full toll was to be charged, and the rates were also fixed as follows:

25 cents for all 4-wheel vehicles on springs, with two horses, and 2 cents each additional horse.
Every wagon, 10 cents with two horses, and 2 cents each additional horse.
Every wagon or cart, 10 cents with two oxen, 12½ cents if more than two oxen.
Every curricle, 15 cents.
Chaise, chair, sulky, carriage drawn by one horse, 12½ cents.
Cart, wagon or truck drawn by one horse, 6¼ cents.
Man and horse, 4 cents.
Horses, mules or neat cattle, led or driven, 1 cent each.

Sleigh or sled with two horses or oxen, 8 cents, each additional horse or ox, 1 cent.
Sleigh or sled with 1 horse, 4 cents.
Sheep and swine, 3 cents per dozen.

Persons could pay by the year such sum as agreed upon by the corporation.

Wagons or carts with six-inch wide tires were charged one-half rate.

Proper sign-boards showing the rates were required at every toll gate.

Fifty dollars was the fine for a person to damage or destroy a gate, or pass without paying.

No person was required to pay if going to or coming on foot from church or gristmill, or in performance of military duty.

Toll-keeper was liable to a fine of from two to ten dollars if he hindered a person rightfully passing over the turnpike.

In January each year a report showing accounts and expenses of the corporation had to be made to secretary of the Commonwealth. The books of the corporation were also open to inspection by the Legislature.

The Legislature could dissolve a corporation after twenty years, or sooner, if corporation had received compensation for costs with 12 per cent. interest. The road would then be at the disposal of the Legislature. A meeting of the corporation could be called at any time on request of major part of the persons to whom the grant was made. Unless the proposed road was built and completed within five years from date of the grant, the parties forfeited all their rights.

In case the road was out of repair the Court of Common Pleas could view or send committee to view, and if sufficient cause was found, they would notify clerk of the corporation, the gates would be ordered open, and no toll could be collected until road was put in order.

Where a road was discontinued, the land covering the location reverted back to the parties of whom the corporation purchased it.

During the preliminary work of laying out, assessing damages, etc., for the Worcester turnpike, it was thought more definite powers were needed by the committee appointed by the Legislature, consequently a special act was passed, dated June 10, 1808, granting full powers.

As the work of construction progressed it was found in aiming to build practically a straight road, they made many intersections with old roads, and people using these old roads would, when convenient, dodge in upon and use the turnpike, turning out onto an old road before reaching the toll gate, and thus escape paying toll.

March 3, 1809, another special act was secured authorizing the Court of Common Pleas to view and locate toll gates, to accommodate the old road connections between the established gates that were ten miles apart. This compelled them to pay a small charge when using the turnpike.

The next difficulty brought to public attention appears under date of Boston, Sept. 24, 1817, at which time a special meeting of the corporation was called by A. Bliss, clerk of the corporation at Wesson's Inn, Shrewsbury, on the border of the Worcester great pond, where it intersects the turnpike road, Wednesday, the 11th day of October. "Then and there to consult upon the mode and means of erecting a bridge or causeway in the place of the one recently destroyed. A punctual and general attendance is earnestly requested, as objects of the meeting are important to all. Directors persuade themselves that this notification will meet with due attention.

"By order of the Directors.

"A. Bliss, Clerk."

Four days after the date for holding this meeting the following was published:

The committee of the Worcester Turnpike Association give notice they are ready to receive proposals for the construction of a Pass-way over the Long Pond, either by filling up so as to make a permanent causeway of 30 ft. width on top, of the same height as the east end of the causeway on the west side of the pond; or a frame or floating bridge across the same. Any person or persons disposed to undertake will please deliver in their terms, exhibiting manner of construction which they devise or recommend, with the time they will engage to complete the work, under a cover, sealed, either to the store of Geo. Brinley, Esq., south side of the market in Boston; to Theophilus Wheeler, Esq., or the Subscriber, of Worcester, or to Capt. Abner Wheeler of Framingham, on or before the 22 day of the present month.

Samuel Flagg, Jr., Clerk pro tem.

Worcester, Oct. 8, 1817.

It will be noticed the date of Mr. Flagg's advertisement for proposals was some days prior to the day fixed for the special meeting at Wesson's Inn. But the next notice explains the matter:

Members of the Worcester Turnpike Corporation are hereby notified that, agreeable to their adjournment from the 8th instant, a meeting of the corporation will be held in Boston, at Stone's Tavern, Newbury street, Wednesday, the 29th day of October, at 11 o'clock A. M., then and there to act upon reports of committees appointed at the last meeting, to make inquiries relative to the expense and structure of the bridge lately destroyed, and the cause of its failure; and to report what may appear to be the best and most practicable mode of constructing a new pass-way across the Worcester Great Pond; also to hear and act upon such other matters as may properly come before them.

The business of the meeting is so important as to urge every member to a punctual attendance. Per order,

A. Bliss, Clerk.

Oct. 22, 1817.

The meeting that was called for Oct. 29 at Stone's

Tavern, was adjourned to Concert Hall, Boston, 11.30 A. M., same day.

Under date of Nov. 1, Mr. Samuel Flagg, Jr., clerk pro tem., renewed his notice in the papers for proposals, substantially as his former notice, with returns to be made on or before 15th of November, 1817.

The annual meeting of the corporation was called at Concert Hall, Boston, Thursday, Nov. 20, at 11 o'clock A. M. to choose officers, etc.

The Directors were also to meet at 10 o'clock, same place and date. (A. Bliss, Clerk, Nov. 5, 1817.)

Nov. 21, 1817, notice was given of an assessment of fifteen dollars on each share, to be paid to the treasurer on or before the 21st day of December next. (Elijah Lewis Treasurer, Roxbury, Nov. 21, 1817.)

This assessment was, we presume, to cover cost of repairs, including those at the pond.

The outcome was another floating bridge. This turnpike came into Worcester over what is now Belmont street, and at its junction with Summer was the toll gate, over which was an arch surmounted by an eagle carved out of wood.

Feb. 15, 1826, that portion of the turnpike located in Roxbury was discontinued, leaving the terminus in Brookline.

March 10, 1841, the act was passed repealing the original act, and the corporation was dissolved, to take effect Sept. 1, 1841. And thus the Worcester Turnpike Corporation lost its existence; not, however, until some years after the Boston & Worcester Railroad was put into operation, the construction of which no doubt interfered largely with the annual dividends on the stock held by the proprietors of the turnpike.

To convey some idea of the travel over portions of this turnpike and the probable income from such travel, the following figures are given, showing the number of ve-

hicles, etc., that passed Kimball's Tavern in Needham during the month of October, 1831:

Chaises, 1069; carryalls, 300; one-horse wagons, 1199; two-horse wagons, 626; three-horse wagons, 239; four-horse wagons, 524; five-horse wagons, 292; six-horse wagons, 296; seven-horse wagons, 114; eight-horse wagons, 63; ox teams, 596; stages drawn by four horses, 413.

At the toll gate in Needham the book for the year ending Nov. 1, 1826, gives the following:

229	carriages at 25 cents,	$57 25
2408	chaises at 12½ cents,	301 00
107	six-horse wagons at 18 cents,	19 20
202	five-horse wagons at 16 cents,	32 32
858	four-horse wagons at 14 cents,	120 12
1982	three-horse wagons at 12 cents,	137 84
963	ox teams at 11 cents (3½ add. oxen),	205 93
1918	two-horse wagons at 10 cents,	191 80
4704	one-horse wagons at 6¼ and 3⅛ cents,	220 50
	Stages, sleighs, etc., not enumerated,	443 35
	Making at this gate for the year,	$1727 31

The year ending Nov. 1, 1830, there were 1960 stages passed this turnpike at this Needham gate, 6030 teams composed of 18,236 horses and oxen, with about 11,355 persons.

Remarks followed, participated in by Major F. G. Stiles and J. H. Bancroft, Esq., the former reading a brief sketch of his great grandfather, Jeremiah Stiles, whose grandson, the father of Major F. G. Stiles, was drowned in Lake Quinsigamond, at the floating bridge, July 2, 1826, at the age of 55 years.

The Committee on Membership Biography made report as follows:

JAMES LAWRENCE ESTEY.

One of the early members of the Worcester Society of Antiquity died at his residence in Worcester on the 7th of June, 1901, at the age of 87 years and 10 days. He had been in failing health for several months, and his death, due to old age, was not unexpected.

Mr. Estey was one of the oldest and most respected citizens of Worcester, and during almost the whole of his long life had been identified with its growth. He was born in Middleton, Essex county, June 28, 1814, son of William Estey. He married Lucy Wood of Bolton, who died in 1888. Two children were born to them—Sarah Adelaide, born December 29, 1840, died September 7, 1841, and George Lawrence, born January 23, 1848.

He was one of the original members of Plymouth Congregational Church, joining it when it was organized in 1869. Before that he was a member of Union Church. He was also one of the charter members of the Worcester County Mechanics Association, organized in 1842, and survived all but two of the original members.

Mr. Estey came to Worcester March 1, 1829, and was apprenticed to Griffin & Morrill to learn the printing trade in the "Aegis" office. He lived with Samuel Morrill, junior partner of the firm, in the house then standing at the corner of Main street and Lincoln square.

In 1831 the proprietor of the "Aegis" bought a new Adams press, and Mr. Estey helped set it up, this being the first power press brought to Worcester.

After finishing his time, Mr. Estey went to Lowell, where, as a member of the firm of Dearborn & Estey, he published for a time the "Lowell Patriot."

He remained in Lowell but a year, when he went to New York, where he remained until 1840, working at his trade.

Mr. Estey returned to Worcester in 1840, taking a position in the office of the "Massachusetts Spy," which was

then edited by John Milton Earle. He left the "Spy" office in 1853 to go back to the "Aegis," where he learned his trade, the paper at that time being published by Henry Weber, and he remained there three years. The population of Worcester at that time was 15,000, and it had been incorporated as a city.

At the time he was working on the Worcester papers he saw some of the most exciting times in the history of the city, it being the heat of the abolition movement, and the rum element also figured with special prominence in city elections.

In 1855 he moved to Pawtucket, R. I., where he engaged in the job printing and lithograph business as a partner in the firm of Pearce & Estey. He remained there a year, and returned to Worcester, and took the position of foreman for Henry J. Howland, who was engaged in the book and job printing business. He remained there until 1862, when he went to work for Charles Hamilton in the job department of the "Palladium" office, where he remained continuously until 1896, when he retired with the record of being the oldest typesetter in New England, having a record of sixty-six years behind him, industrious nearly every day of that time.

In 1888 Mr. Estey went to Minnesota to visit a sister he had not seen in many years, and on his return he took a 400-mile trip by steamer through the Great Lakes, and then traveled through Illinois and Indiana.

In 1889 he went to Europe, traveling through England, Ireland and Scotland, and then visited Paris and the international exposition. He was always a great admirer of General Lafayette, as he saw him during his boyhood when the famous general passed through Andover on his way from Boston to New Hampshire.

His funeral was held at Plymouth Church, and was at-

tended by a large number of the printers of the city, who had known him so many years.

BENJAMIN J. DODGE,
ELLA L. T. BALDWIN,
HENRY F. STEDMAN,
Committee on Membership Biography.

Notice was then given that at the next regular meeting, to be held Nov. 5, Major F. G. Stiles would read a paper covering the history of the Worcester Light Infantry from its organization to the Spanish-American war.

There being no further business the meeting was adjourned.

Some years ago there appeared in the "Worcester Evening Gazette" an article giving recollections of Mrs. Oliver Clapp, a former resident of Worcester, at time of this interview over 90 years of age. It may be familiar to some of you, but it will certainly bear repeating.

AN EARLY WORCESTER FAMILY.

Fidelia S. Clapp was born in the town of Hampton, Windham county, Conn., April 11, 1799. She was the fourth child of Ebenezer Stowell Geer, a man well known in his part of the state. During the Revolutionary War young Geer and his father espoused the cause of the colonists, and offered their services. They were mustered in, and at the battle of White Plains the father was taken prisoner. Soon after he was placed on board one of the famous prison ships in New York harbor, where it is supposed he died, as he was never afterwards heard from.

Young Geer returned home after the war closed, when he was married, and in 1807, with his family of four sons and two daughters, moved to Worcester. Their son, Charles H., was captain of Worcester Light Infantry, 1834, a printer by trade and worked on the "Spy." The subject of this sketch was at this time eight years of age, and well remembers the trials incident to the moving. Among other things, she remembers soon after her arrival in Worcester seeing a man placed in a pillory in the public square, and a crowd of boys near by throwing stones and sticks at him.

Ebenezer Stowell Geer was born in Canterbury, Conn., and d. in Worcester March 10, 1845, aged 76; farmer at first, last a stone layer, 1844.

Lucy, his wife, d. in Worcester Feb. 29, 1836, aged 65; buried in Pine Meadow. Two of their children, Fidelia S. and Charles H., were baptized at the Second Church July 12, 1812.

His children were:

[1]Ebenezer, d. Aug. 31, 1818, aged 28; m. Azubah Chadwick April 18, 1816.

[2]Lucy Rebecca, m. Prescott Whittemore of Lancaster Dec. 15, 1811.

[3]Asa, m. Esther Smith Nov. 1, 1813. He d. May 17, 1833.

[4]Fidelia S. Geer.

[5]Charles Hibbard, d. May 24, 1845; m. Sarah A. Williams Dec. 4, 1825.

[6]William Hibbard, b. April 24, 1815.

He lived in a hip-roofed house that stood on Lincoln street, east side, south of Catharine street, beneath three great elm trees that are yet standing.

The cause of her father's removal to Worcester was the taking of a contract for what was considered a wonderful piece of engineering work, the building of the turnpike

from Worcester to Boston. On this he was employed for more than three years. After finishing this work he kept a hotel till the close of the War of 1812, possibly the place subsequently known as the Stearns Tavern. It stood between the turnpike and Lincoln street. Daniel Waldo occupied it as a residence on his coming to Worcester from Lancaster, 1782, afterwards by Levi Lincoln, Jr., while building his brick mansion, and Capt. Peter Slater as a hotel; also by Benjamin Howard for same purpose. He then carried on an immense farm, occupying all that territory afterwards used for the old insane asylum, which will be remembered by many old people of Worcester, where he lived till his death. He was buried in a cemetery at Pine Meadow, near which spot now stands the Grand Union depot. Incidents of the War of 1812 are still very distinct in the memory of this woman. She well remembers seeing her brothers start out one Sunday morning with what at that time seemed a vast army of 800 men. Their destination was Boston, where they had been ordered to protect that city from the ravages of the British. A few weeks later she remembers seeing a large stage drawn by six horses, and surrounded by mounted troops, drive into Worcester. This stage was loaded with specie which had been taken from the Boston banks, and was brought here for safety. She says the happiest day of her life was when she saw another coach drawn by eight beautiful bay horses drive into the town, for this time each horse was decked with a small white flag, upon which was the word "Peace," and then they knew the war was over.

Some time after the close of this war her youngest brother, William Geer, bought a line of omnibuses running between Boston and Cambridge, and here he was to be found for many years, and no doubt he will be remembered by many an old citizen who had ridden with him. He was driven away by the building of a horse car route,

and shipped his teams to Panama, where for a number of years he ran a line of stages over the Isthmus. Finally he disappeared, and it is supposed that he was killed during an insurrection of the natives.

Mrs. Clapp was first married at the age of sixteen to Adam Walker. Worcester records say she married Nov. 27, 1815, Adam Walker of Keene, N. H. Walker had four years before shown great bravery while on the Indian frontier, then in what is now the state of Indiana, and distinguished himself in the famous battle of Tippecanoe. After their marriage they moved to Keene, N. H., and soon after the young man started the "Keene Sentinel," which he published for two or three years. During his frontier life he had kept a journal of his experiences, and at the solicitation of many friends he published it in book form, and the history was widely read. He died in Boston in 1818.

The young widow then returned to her old home in Worcester, and five years later married Oliver Clapp (May 9, 1824), and went to live in Petersham. There they resided till 1852, when they moved to Mansfield, where Mr. Clapp died in 1874.

Two children blessed the first union, a son and daughter. The son, named after his father, after reaching the age of manhood, went to Springfield, where for many years he occupied the responsible office of city marshal, but his health failing he moved to Montgomery, Ala., where he died. The daughter married E. L. Pierce, a wealthy scythe manufacturer of Barre, who, at his death, left a large fortune to the widow, who now (1890) lives in Peoria, Ill.

By the second husband there were four sons and four daughters. Avery, the oldest son, is a respected and influential citizen of Montgomery, Ala. He owns large marble and lime works, and is president of the Southern Lime Association. Alfred was shot in his bed soon after the

late war by his wife. Charlotte and Harriet are in the West. Charles is a respected citizen of Norton, and with him the old lady will probably spend the remaining years of her life. Lucy is the wife of William Weeks, editor of the "Sharon Advocate," and Henry, the youngest, lives on the old farm at Mansfield.

The story of her first ride in a railroad car seems quite laughable in view of our present facilities. The Boston & Albany R. R. was finished nearly through to Worcester, and a train ran over it one way a day. Her father was anxious that his daughters should have one ride before it was discontinued, as he believed it would be for want of iron to manufacture the rails. It was proposed that they should go as far as Grafton, and one of the sons should come after them in a team, thus enabling them to get back that night. The team started about the same time as the train, and arrived at Grafton about 20 minutes behind it. The father was so disgusted at what he considered the poor time of the horses that he threatened to sell them if they couldn't do better.

She says the only President she ever saw was James Monroe. During his administration he made a trip to Boston, he having ridden on horseback from Providence. He was to stop at the hotel which stood on the corner of Devonshire street, and the day before his arrival she, with many hundreds of others, paid 6¼ cents for the privilege of looking into his bedroom.

Mrs. Clapp has wonderful vitality. She has always enjoyed good health, and is far more lively than many a younger person. At the age of 82 she started on a journey to Worcester, Barre and Petersham, making the trip unattended, and visited, probably for the last time, the scenes of her youth.

She is a great reader, and during the past few years her eyes seem to have regained their old-time strength, and now she can easily read without glasses.

She is a great worker for one of her age, and never seems thoroughly contented unless busy at something. During the past year she has braided ten large rugs, and pieced several bedquilts, one of which contains 1300 pieces.

WORCESTER ARTILLERY ROLL.

The Worcester Artillery Company was formed by Major William Treadwell after the close of the Revolutionary War, and he became its first commander. The two brass or bronze six-pounders which constituted the armament of this company were captured at Saratoga by the troops serving under Major Treadwell, and those guns were used to fire the salute under the command of Major Treadwell on the occasion of General Washington's visit to Worcester.

The guns were stored in the gun-house on the Common, a structure about twenty feet square, with hip-roof, which stood where the Col. Timothy Bigelow monument now stands.

About the year 1835 the company was disbanded and these guns removed, probably to Watertown. Subsequently an old iron cannon was used on public occasions, and for many years Isaac Bartlett, a former member of this company, was employed by the town to fire the salutes.

The following Roll of the Worcester Artillery Company was presented to the Worcester Society of Antiquity by Mr. Richard O'Flynn, August 7, 1883:

ROLL.

AUGUST, 1825.

OFFICERS.

Captain Elijah Flagg.

1st Lieutenant Nathaniel Brooks, 2d,
Lived at South Worcester.

2d Lieutenant Leonard W. Stowell,
Corner of Prospect street.

MUSIC.

Richard Henry,

Jason Conner,
Fifer. Lived on Mechanic street near burying-ground. Died July 28, 1848.

Nathaniel M. Washburne.

SERGEANTS.

George W. Brooks,
Brother of Lieut. Nathaniel Brooks, and lived on the Brooks homestead at Adams square.

John Barnard, 2d,
Capt. Barnard lived at Adams square.

Samuel Sturtevant, Jr.,

Jonathan Gleason, 3d,
Lived near Adams square.

CORPORALS.

Gardner Johnson, Jr.,
Resided at Tatnuck.

Isaac Bartlett,
A painter. Fired salutes on public days after the artillery company disbanded. Had a daughter Mehitable, who was a teacher in the public schools in Worcester.

Jonathan A. White,

Robert S. Gleason,
Son of Jonathan; lived near Adams square.

FIRST GUNNERS AND BOMBARDIERS.

James Gleason,
Son of James.

Nathan Perry,
Lived on Vernon street.

Nahum Gates,
Lived at Tatnuck; son of Samuel.

Henry Gates,
Lived at Tatnuck; son of Samuel.

Austin Harrington,
Lived near the lake; son of Samuel.

Jeremiah Gleason,
Son of Phinehas.

SECOND GUNNERS AND BOMBARDIERS.

Rufus Barrows,
Lived at the rear of the old court house; had sons, Foster and Lucian.

Philander Gleason,
Son of Jonathan.

Alexander Holman,
Lived on Front street.

Elihu P. Warfield,
Had son, Benjamin T.

MATROSSES.

William F. Trowbridge,

Curtis Rice,
Resided at Adams square.

Russel Eaton,
Was foreman on the work blasting out ledge for B. & W. R. R., and lived near corner of Putnam Lane and Shrewsbury St.

Darius Rice,
Cross street, now Union street.

Andrew Patch,
Was a carpenter.

John D. Hunting.

Daniel Smith, Jr.,
Painter; shop on Spring street.

Lewis Flagg,

Samuel Willard,

Dennis Smith,
Perhaps a brother of Daniel, Jr.

Ross Gleason,

Moses Gray,
Near Washington square.

Edmund Conner, Jr.,
Brother of Jason. Father was a butcher. Died suddenly.

James F. Flagg,
Son of Elijah.

Edward Edwards,
Lived on Old Market street.

John Holman, Jr.,

Leonard Gates,

John Perry,
Vernon street.

John Mixter,
Lived near North Pond.

Joseph Avery,
There was a Joseph Avery, Captain of the Artillery Co. who succeeded Capt. Samuel Curtis and Capt. Samuel Graves. Lived back of court house.
Oliver Baker,
Rufus Johnson,
Kept a saloon at Lincoln square.
Clark Stearns,
Richard Grush,
Joseph Seaver,
Mechanic street, brother of William.
Harvey Sturtevant,
Son of Samuel.
Orlando Goddard,
Son of Joseph.
William T. Merrifield,
Lived on Summer street at that time.
Luther Foster,
Lived at Tatnuck; son of Peter.
Jefferson Pierce,
Benoni Smith,
Painter; shop on Spring street.

HOSTLERS.

Shubael Chickering,
Resided near the lake.
Welcome Washburne.

Lieutenant, afterward Deacon, Nathaniel Brooks was born at Haverhill, N. H., 3rd of October, 1797. He resided in Haverhill, N. H., and afterward in lower Canada, where his parents settled about the year 1810 at Stanstead, P. Q.

Lieutenant Nathaniel Brooks came to Worcester November 22nd, 1818, and located at the home of his grandfather, Capt. Samuel Brooks. He married, 9th of April, 1822, Miss Mary Chadwick, daughter of Daniel and Elizabeth (Fiske) Chadwick, born in Worcester the 3rd of July, 1794. March 11, 1822, Nathaniel bought a farm of 105 acres at South Worcester of Nathan White, which

became his homestead, and on which he resided till his death, the 3rd of November, 1850.

His widow died at the old homestead at South Worcester the 31st of August, 1876.

Nathaniel was deacon of the Old South Church, Worcester, fourteen years, from 1836 to the time of his decease. He was Representative to the Legislature in 1843-44. Previously had served as Selectman for the town, member of the Common Council, and held many other positions of trust and honor.

His grandfather was Capt. Samuel Brooks, the first of the name to settle in Worcester. He came from Concord, Mass., about 1752, buying a farm at Adams square, which for some years was known as Brooks Corner. The site of the old house is now occupied by the present brick building known as the "Chaffin house."

This Capt. Samuel Brooks married Mrs. Hannah (Davis) Brown, and had one child only—a son, Deacon Samuel Brooks, who removed to Haverhill, N. H., where he married Anna (Bedel) Butler, daughter of General Timothy Bedel of Revolutionary fame, and widow of Dr. Thaddeus Butler, and was registrar of deeds for Grafton county, that state, for many years, an influential man of that place.

Lieutenant Nathaniel Brooks was known as "Nathaniel Brooks, Second," to distinguish him from his grandfather's brother, Capt. Nathaniel Brooks, who settled and lived in that part of Worcester now called Greendale.

George Washington Brooks was brother of Lieut. Nathaniel Brooks, and was born at Haverhill, N. H., 5th of January, 1796. He settled in Worcester, the home of his grandfather, about 1817 or 1818, and lived on a farm that his grandfather left him, in the northeast part of the city, for a while, and afterwards lived at his grandfather's homestead at Adams square. There he resided until about 1826, when he removed to the Province of Quebec,

Canada, and lived at different times in Stanstead, Lennoxville, and Ascot.

He married, first, at Worcester, April 1st, 1818, Eunice Flagg, daughter of Elijah and Sarah (Moore) Flagg. She died, and he married, second, her sister, Rebecca Jennison Flagg. After her death he married, third, the widow of Seneca Paige, Dunham, P. Q., where he died the 27th of April, 1879, having had twenty-one children, the four oldest of whom were born in Worcester.

Lineage of Lieut. Nathaniel and Sergt. George W. Brooks:

Captain Thomas Brooks, it is supposed, from London, England, settled at Watertown 1631; was granted a portion of the Beaver brook plowlands in 1636; made freeman December 7 that year. Probably soon after removed to Concord, the General Court appointing him constable there December 8, 1638. He was Representative to the General Court, and a man of prominence. By wife Grace had following children:

Mary; Hannah; *Joshua; Caleb, b. 1632; Gershom; Mary, who married Capt. Timothy Wheeler; perhaps Hannah, wife of Thomas Fox.

*Deacon Joshua Brooks was by trade a tanner, and married, Oct. 17, 1653, Hannah Mason, daughter of Capt. Hugh Mason, and settled in the south part of Concord, later a part of Lincoln. Their children were:

Hannah,[1] John,[2] Noah,[3] Grace,[4] *Daniel,[5] Thomas,[6] Esther,[7] Joseph,[8] Elizabeth,[9] Job,[10] Hugh,[11] and Thomas.[12]

*Daniel Brooks, b. Nov. 15, 1663, married, Aug. 9, 1692, Ann Merriam, and had:

Daniel,[1] Samuel,[2] Anna,[3] Job,[4] Mary,[5] *John.[6]

*John Brooks, b. Feb. 12, 1701-2, married Lydia Barker. Had:

John,[1] b. Dec. 17, 1728; Capt. Samuel,[2] b. March 16, 1729-30, grandfather of Lieut. Nathaniel and George W. Brooks; Charles,[3] April 6, 1732; Lydia, May 7, 1734; Ephraim, Aug. 5, 1736; Daniel, Oct. 24, 1738; Nathaniel, Feb. 17, 1740-41; Jonas, March 18, 1742-3, d. 1746; Peter, March 29, 1745; Jonas, July 31, 1747.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Worcester Society of Antiquity,

FOR THE YEAR

1901

WORCESTER, MASS.:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

thanks was extended to Major Stiles for his interesting paper.

Through the kindness of Major Henry B. Fairbanks, the history of this company has been brought down to the close of the Cuban War, and is here given complete for the first time.

A SKETCH OF THE WORCESTER LIGHT INFANTRY, 1803—1902.

By Major Frederick Green Stiles.

[Read before the Society of Antiquity by Major F. G. Stiles, the active company, W. L. I., being present with full ranks.]

Worcester, with a population of about 2000 inhabitants in 1800, could boast of but one uniformed independent military company, namely, the Worcester Artillery Company, formed in 1783 by Major William Treadwell, who served with the Massachusetts quota of troops from 1775 to the end of the Revolutionary War. The Battery consisted of two six-pound brass field pieces, taken from the British at Saratoga, N. Y., Sept. 19th and Oct. 7th, 1777, and said to have been captured by Treadwell's regiment. They bore the English mark on the breech of each gun, the crown, the lion and the unicorn, and the motto, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*"

There were two state militia companies, composed of men between the ages of 18 and 45 years, which the state law compelled to assemble once in each year, on the first Tuesday in May, for inspection and drill. A strict account was taken of each man's equipment, as required by the militia law, and each delinquent fined. They were without uniformity of dress, and their arms were of every conceivable pattern, and their parades were looked upon as a burlesque on the uniformed and disciplined militia. Such was the condition of the militia throughout the state. To remedy this evil, to make it more efficient, in 1803, at the instigation of prominent citizens of the town, an application was made to the Legislature for permission to form a new military infantry company. Said application was written by Levi Lincoln, Jr. On June 6th, 1803, the petition was granted. On Oct. 5th, 1803, the follow-

ing notice appeared in the Massachusetts Spy: "Attention!" "A new military company in the town of Worcester." "The militia of a country is the security of its liberties." "Important in any condition, it derives increased consequence from uniformity and from discipline. Its general improved situation within a few years has rendered particular instances of inattention more highly conspicuous. Confining our observations to the limits of our own town, we find the militia companies (excepting the Artillery, which is a burning and shining light amid surrounding darkness) lost in comparative insignificance. The cause of this evil is obvious to each one; to correct it, the business of all. Successfully to oppose the prejudices of individuals may be difficult, to contend with the ignorance of some and the obstinacy of others is unpleasant; steady personal exertions, however, may overcome all obstacles. An appeal is now made to the proud feelings of the soldiers. The young and enterprising are called upon to assist in an effort which, if crowned with success, will retrieve lost opportunities, and respectability to their character as soldiers, and place them in a situation to be the example and the boast of the Division to which they belong. If the present attempt to procure a new militia company is suffered to languish, if through a deficiency of public spirit the project must be abandoned, then farewell, a long farewell, to prospects.

"A failure now, under most favorable circumstances, would completely discourage future exertion. From the most careful inquiry, it has been ascertained that there are ample sufficient to compose Three Companies without diminishing from the complement of those already established.—Brethren! Throw, then, aside your rusty muskets, your guns without locks, your dress without uniformity, your appearance without discipline, and assume for yourselves the respectable and dignified character of the Citizen Soldier."

Papers containing the following articles of agreement requisite to the formation of the company, and already subscribed by upwards of thirty persons, are lodged in the post office and the store of Stickney & Dodge:

"The subscribers engage to conform to the following articles:

"First. Personally to become members of a new military company to be formed in the Town of Worcester.

"Second. To uniform themselves in a uniform which may be agreed upon by a majority. In procuring the uniform regard shall be had to the ability of all to purchase.

"Third. To equip themselves in a suitable and soldier-like manner.

"Whenever a sufficient number have subscribed to this agreement, a meeting shall be called by public notice in the newspapers, for the purpose of choosing Officers, and a committee to petition the Governor to commission those officers and to transact such other business as may be necessary."

In the Massachusetts Spy of Oct. 7th, 1803, was the following notice:

"A meeting of the subscribers to the new militia company will be held on Monday, October 17th, at six o'clock P. M., at Major Moore's Tavern, for the choice of officers, and such other business as may be necessary.

"Per order of the Committee."

Although no report of this meeting can be found in the files of the Spy, said meeting was held at the above time and place (Major Moore's Tavern was on the corner of Main and Mechanic streets, where Walker's block now stands), and Levi Thaxter was chosen Captain; Enoch Flagg, First Lieutenant, and Levi Lincoln, Jr., Ensign. These officers were commissioned by Governor Caleb Strong, and the Worcester Light Infantry became a part

of the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia. On Sept. 26th, 1804, this notice appeared in the Massachusetts Spy:

"The members of the Worcester Light Infantry will celebrate their first anniversary, on Friday, October 5th, 1804. The Company will parade by the North Meeting House precisely at 2 o'clock P. M., in full uniform, completely equipped and with 12 rounds of blank cartridges.

"Levi Thaxter, Captain."

The first anniversary parade took place as ordered, all officers and members being present except Ensign Levi Lincoln, Jr., who from an accident (the breaking of his leg) was unable to march. The line of march was through Main and Lincoln streets, to the residence of Ensign Lincoln, who appeared and acknowledged the salute of the company, after which they paraded the town, the Worcester Artillery firing a salute in honor of the parade. The Captains commanding the Company to date, 1902, are as follows, with the time served:

Captain Levi Thaxter,	1804 to 1806.
Captain Enoch Flagg,	1806 to 1809.
Captain William E. Green,	1809 to 1811.
Captain Isaac Sturtevant,	1811 to 1812.
Captain John W. Lincoln,	1812 to 1816.
Captain Sewall Hamilton,	1816 to 1820.
Captain John Coolidge,	1820 to 1822.
Captain Samuel Ward,	1822 to 1824.
Captain Artemus Ward,	1824 to 1826.
Captain John Whittemore,	1826 to 1827.
Captain Charles A. Hamilton,	1828 to 1831.
Captain Zenas Studley,	1831 to 1832.
Captain William S. Lincoln,	1832 to 1834.
Captain Charles H. Geer,	1834 to 1836.
Captain Henry Hobbs,	Died 1836.
Captain Dana H. Fitch,	1837 to 1838.

Captain	D. Waldo Lincoln,	1838 to	1840.
Captain	Ivers Phillips,		1841.
Captain	Henry W. Conklin,		1842.
Captain	Joseph B. Ripley,		1843.
Captain	Edward Lamb,	1844 to	1848.
Captain	Levi Barker,		1849.
Captain	Edward Lamb,	1850 to	1852.
Captain	Charles S. Childs,		1853.
Captain	Samuel P. Russell,	1853 to	1854.
Captain	George Barker,	1854	
Captain	George F. Peck,		1855.
Captain	Edward Lamb,	1856 to	1859.
Captain	Harrison W. Pratt,	1859 to	1862.
Captain	George W. Prouty,	1862 to	1865.
Captain	James M. Drennan,	1865 to	1869.
Captain	George H. Conklin,	1869 to	1870.
Captain	Joel H. Prouty,	1870 to	1871.
Captain	John Calligan,		1871.
Captain	John A. Lovell,	1871 to	1874.
Captain	John J. Upham,	1874 to	1875.
Captain	Levi Lincoln, Jr.,	1875 to	1877.
Captain	Joseph P. Mason,	1877 to	1879.
Captain	Thomas E. Leavett,		1879.
Captain	Frank L. Child,	1879 to	1880.
Captain	Winslow S. Lincoln,	1880 to	1883.
Captain	Edward A. Harris,	1883 to	1889.
Captain	Frank L. Child,	1889 to	1890.
Captain	Frederick G. Davis,	1890 to	1891.
Captain	Harry B. Fairbanks,	1891 to	1895.
Captain	Phineas L. Rider,	1895 to	1898.
Captain	Frank L. Allen (Cuba),		1898.
Captain	Phineas L. Rider,	1898 to	

The commissioned officers of the Worcester Light Infantry have always ranked among the influential and responsible citizens of the town and city, and the company

has always held an honorable position in the militia of Massachusetts, and in every emergency has been ready to report at the call for duty, whether within the limits of the Commonwealth or beyond its borders.

In 1807 war with England was considered inevitable, and on the 4th of August the company, then under the command of Captain Enoch Flagg, voted its services, at a moment's notice, to James Sullivan, then Governor of Massachusetts; but it was not needed at that time. War with England, however, was only postponed, not averted, and on Sept. 14th, 1814, the Worcester Light Infantry was ordered to Boston to repel British invasion. The company was stationed at South Boston, and remained there until relieved from duty, October 31st, then returning to Worcester. The following is the roll of the company:

Captain, John W. Lincoln; First Lieutenant, Sewall Hamilton; Ensign, John Coolidge; First Sergeant, Levi Wellington; Second Sergeant, Luther Johnson; Third Sergeant, Edward D. Bangs; Fourth Sergeant, Samuel Green; Corporals, Jeremiah Healy, Lincoln Fearing, Charles Bridge and James Thompson; Musicians, Ithamar Smith and Jason Mann; Privates, Oliver Eager, Rufus Paine, Jr., William T. Alexander, Phinehas Ball, Jr., Warren Bowen, Abijah Butler, Aaron Curtis, Joseph Delano, Joseph Drury, Jason Duncan, Dexter Earle, Joseph Fenno, Asa Flagg, Eleazer Fletcher, Gardner Johnson, Wales Paine, Josiah Perry, Luke Perry, Austin K. Putnam, Peter Rice, Timothy B. Rice, Levi Smith, Samuel Stowell, William Tracy, Isaac M. Tucker, Walter Tufts, Charles W. K. Warren, William D. Wheeler, Benjamin White, Archibald Witt and Arnold Mann.

The above names are contained on the pay-roll of the Worcester Light Infantry, under Captain John W. Lin-

coln, in Lieutenant Colonel Salem Town's regiment, General Maltby's brigade, for the month of September, 1814, as returned to the Adjuant General's office, Boston, at its date. In 1846, in the war with Mexico, the company volunteered its services to the Governor, George N. Briggs, but the quota of troops from Massachusetts being full, it was not ordered to report.

In that war, at the battle of "Buena Vista," Feb. 23, 1847, a former member of the Worcester Light Infantry, Captain George Lincoln, was killed. He was on the staff of Zachary Taylor, and was rallying an Indiana regiment when he fell; and in General Taylor's report, Captain Lincoln is especially mentioned for bravery in battle.

From the date of the Mexican war, the militia of the Commonwealth was considered by many as a useless expense, and the non-resistance party succeeded in disbanding a number of companies, but, fortunately, the Worcester Light Infantry was not among the number. For many years, also, the militia was poorly housed, and partially kept up by individual members, and a few public-spirited citizens who were wiser than their generation and realized that the time might come when an armed force would be needed.

That exigency arose in 1861, when the first gun was fired upon "Sumter" and our flag, and it became necessary to defend the national honor and existence.

Public opinion then changed, and too much could not be done for the man who would become a soldier, and volunteer for the defense of the best government the world has ever known.

On the evening of April 16th, 1861, the Worcester Light Infantry Company had assembled for drill at the armory in Horticultural Hall. Between 10 and 11 o'clock Colonel John W. Wetherell, of Governor Andrew's staff,

appeared with verbal orders for Captain Harrison W. Pratt, calling out the Worcester Light Infantry for active duty, and to report at the State House, Boston, forthwith.

The order was received with cheers, and all were anxious to start. Absent members were notified, and in six hours every member had assembled for duty, and, as soon as transportation could be furnished by the railroad corporation, were en route for Boston. It was the first company to leave the city, and, a part of the old Sixth Regiment, the first to leave the state, and in passing through Baltimore, April 19th, 1861, on their way to Washington, D. C., the regiment was assailed by the mob, and the first blood of the "Civil War" was shed. The company numbered ninety-nine, officers and men, all told. The officers were: Captain, Harrison W. Pratt; First Lieutenant, George W. Prouty; Second Lieutenant, Thomas S. Washburn; Third Lieutenant, J. Waldo Denny; Fourth Lieutenant, Dexter F. Parker; Sergeants, John A. Lovell, J. Stewart Brown, Charles A. Stratton and James A. Taylor; Corporals, Joel H. Prouty, Edward P. Stone, Brown P. Stowell and Wm. H. Hobbs; Privates, C. F. Abbott, E. W. Alden, B. F. R. Alden, J. W. Bacon, J. L. Brown, A. S. Badger, D. H. Ball, T. E. Ballard, W. F. Belsor, Henry Bemis, R. M. Brainard, J. E. Calligan, E. A. Campbell, L. Capron, Jr., T. J. Casey, J. Clessold, T. E. Cogger, M. W. Comsett, G. H. Conklin, William Conner, D. W. Corson, Marcus Curtis, C. E. Dart, J. B. Dennis, T. A. Doherty, Joseph Dyson, E. L. Drury, L. T. Drury, John Emerson, J. S. Estabrook, A. Gernhard, R. A. Hacker, Henry Hardy, I. B. Hastings, Henry Haven, E. S. Hay, A. D. V. Hoar, O. Hodgkins, G. A. Houghton, John Henry, G. P. Johnson, J. F. Kidder, J. M. Knapp, S. O. Laforest, William Lincoln, H. H. Lawrence, J. F. Methuen, George T. Minter, C. A. Moulton, J. T. Mulcahy,

M. J. Newton, D. H. Dolan, E. B. Perry, Wm. H. Piper, E. M. Rice, J. O. Rice, H. M. Richlee, Calvin Riggs, W. C. Roundy, George Schwary, J. D. Shaw, Edward Salhurst, Dennis Sheenan, M. Sief, J. B. Smith, J. W. Stiles, J. W. Sweeney, Thomas Talbot, John Towle, E. P. Thompson, C. P. Trumbull, P. J. Turner, William H. Valentine, A. C. Walker, Fred. Weigand, C. E. Whipple, A. J. Whitcomb, Daniel Wilkins, C. H. Wilson, James Wilkins, John Wolfe, Ira Woodcock, J. W. Woodard and S. E. Young.

The company has had several alphabetical designations. In 1842, when the writer was a member, it was Company B, and that was its letter when ordered to Boston in 1861, but when attached to the Sixth Regiment, it was changed to Company G. (It is now Company C, Second Regiment Infantry, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia.)

After the return to Massachusetts, and muster-out of the "Old Sixth," August 2d, 1861, other companies were recruited from the members, by officers and privates of the company, who had received commissions to raise them. Captain J. Waldo Denny enlisted a company for the Twenty-fifth Regiment, M. V. M., in 1861; Captain Harrison W. Pratt, one for the Thirty-fourth Regiment, M. V. M., 1861, of which regiment William S. Lincoln, son of Levi Lincoln, was Lieutenant Colonel, and afterwards Colonel. Frederick G. Stiles raised a company for the Forty-second Regiment, M. V. M., in 1862; George W. Prouty one for the Fifty-first Regiment, M. V. M., in 1862, and Augustus Ford one for the Forty-second Regiment, M. V. M., in 1864.

These companies served in the armies of the "Union" in the following states: Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi and Arkansas. All these companies, until mustered out by expiration of term of service, gave the Worcester Light Infantry a record

of furnishing more than 600 officers and men for the armies of the United States.

Since that time, the years have come and gone; officers and men have been mustered in, and mustered out; yet still the company lives on, and officers and men have been indefatigable in their efforts, and can justly feel proud of the high standard of excellence in discipline and drill which the company has attained.

A veteran association was formed in 1877, whose membership is recruited from the rank and file of the company; who are gladly welcomed when, by reason of expiration of service, or honorable discharge, they cease to be actives, giving them the opportunity to keep up the old associations and interest, always the attributes of a good soldier.

There is also a second wing, the Honoraries; composed of some of our most honored citizens, who are, perhaps, a little too old to shoulder a musket, or too busy to give the necessary time, but who take an interest in military affairs, and prove it by contributing to, supporting, and giving not only prestige, but valuable assistance to the company.

A VISIT TO BALTIMORE AFTER THIRTY YEARS.

The Worcester Light Infantry, Company C, Second Regiment Infantry, M. V. M., under Captain Fred. G. Davis, with Harry B. Fairbanks, First Lieutenant; Phineas L. Rider, Second Lieutenant, and forty-eight active members of the company, forty-three veteran and honorary members, twenty-three veterans of the "Old Sixth" Massachusetts Regiment, and Battery B Band, twenty-four pieces, left Worcester Saturday, April 18th, 1891, by rail en route for Washington, D. C., arriving at Camden Station, Baltimore, Sunday, the 19th, at 3.25 o'clock P. M., and were met by the Mayor, Robert C. Davidson, on

the part of the city; Colonel William H. Love, on the part of the Governor; Captain E. C. Knower, on the part of the United States army; Commander A. J. Pritchard, of the United States navy; and Lieutenant Colonel William Howard, Fourth Battalion, National Guard of Maryland; General William E. W. Ross; Colonel Robert W. Scarlett, of G. A. R. Post, No. 46, with Commander Daly, Colonel Theodore F. Lang and Captain W. B. Burchinal of the Department of Maryland, G. A. R.; Colonel E. H. Wardwell of the resident members of the "Old Sixth"; Colonel Francis B. Stevens, of the Descendants of the Revolutionary Soldiers; Commander W. O. Saville, of the Naval Veteran Association, and C. A. Combs of the Third Maine Regiment.

There were delegations also from Burnside Post, No. 22; Dodge Post, No. 44; Dennison, No. 8; Lincoln Post (colored), No. 7, G. A. R., and a delegation of forty from Ellsworth Camp, Sons of Veterans. The Fifth Maryland Regiment, 200 strong, under command of Captain Frank Nolan, acted as escort, and the line was headed by the Dushane Post Band and Drum Corps, twenty-two pieces.

The route of march from the station to the hotel was up Eutaw street to Franklin, to Howard, to Baltimore; down Baltimore to the Carrollton House, where, upon their arrival, the visitors were welcomed by Mayor Robert C. Davidson, in a neat and loyal speech, giving the Infantry and party the liberty of the city of Baltimore. Every attention was shown us during our stay; receptions were given, and every place of interest was visited; not the least of these being Pratt street, which the tragedy of thirty years ago has made historical.

Leaving Baltimore Tuesday, April 22d, via the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, the battalion arrived in Washington, D. C., leaving the cars at the same station at which they had arrived thirty years before.

On their arrival, Captain Davis was met by Captains Kelley, Miller and Ebert, representatives of the Washington Light Infantry, which corps escorted the visiting Infantry and party to the Ebbitt House, and during the time of our stay in Washington showed us every attention; furnishing an excursion to Mount Vernon, and an escort to every other place of interest.

Not the least of these courtesies was a banquet, given by the "Archons" to the veterans of the "Old Sixth" Regiment, which they will always remember with pleasure; and the camp-fire of "Kit Carson Post" was a reunion never to be forgotten.

On Friday, April 24th, the party left Washington, en route for home, arriving in Worcester Saturday, April 25th, with nothing to mar the pleasure of the trip; each member of the party voting it to be the most enjoyable and satisfactory of any in the history of the company.

"THE COMPANY ARMORIES."

The armories occupied by the Worcester Light Infantry since its formation in 1803 to 1901, many of them provided and maintained at the company's expense, deserve some notice. The first armory, or place of meeting, I am credibly informed, was the gun house, which stood upon the old Common, near where the Bigelow monument now stands. It was built for the Worcester Artillery Company about 1784, which company was organized by Major William Treadwell in 1783. The battery consisted of two 6-pounder brass field pieces, taken from the British during the Revolutionary War, and said to have been captured by the Major at "Saratoga."

The Worcester Light Infantry shared this building in common with the artillery for a time, afterward removing to the second story of a wooden building, which stood upon the site of the old City Hall. It was at this place

that the company received orders to march to Boston, during the War of 1812-'14. The building was taken down in 1823, and the old Town Hall was built. The third location was a narrow room in the second story of the same building. When the town building was altered, about 1838, the company was assigned a room in the attic, directly over the one previously occupied, which made the fourth removal. It remained there until 1844, at which time it made its fifth removal to the third story of the north side of the Central Exchange building on Main street. The sixth armory was in the Central school building, on the west side of Main street, in 1854. The company made but a short stay there, removing for the seventh time, 1856, to the Bliss building, corner Mechanic and Norwich streets. The eighth armory was in Horticultural Hall, to which they removed in 1858, and whence they so nobly responded to the first call for troops in the war of 1861-1865. In 1865 they occupied the City Hall for a short time, removing the same year to Brinley Hall. The company occupied these quarters in common with the Worcester City Guards; and the hall afterwards became the headquarters of the Grand Army of the Republic, and known as G. A. R. Hall.

The eleventh migration was to Warren Hall, Pearl street, in 1869. The twelfth was in 1871, to Taylor's block, Main street, where they were burned out, and the old records and all of the company's property were destroyed.

The thirteenth settlement, and what was supposed would be a permanent one, was in the building now used as police headquarters, called the New Armory, on Waldo street, in 1875, but the building, not being considered strong enough, the city militia was obliged to vacate.

Their fourteenth removal was to Clark's block, over the Boston Store, Main street; the fifteenth to Piper's old theatre building, from which place they made the six-

teenth removal to the Chase building, Front street, in 1889.

In 1890 the new Armory, its seventeenth and present quarters, at the junction of Grove and Salisbury streets, was made ready for the city troops, splendid accommodations being provided, and which last and best location we trust may be a permanent one.

DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS.

The original charter of the company bears the date of 1804, and has the signature of Harrison Gray Otis, Speaker of the House; Caleb Strong, then Governor; Levi Thaxter; John Nelson, Jr., afterward Rev. John Nelson, D. D., of Leicester, and thirty-three others.

Many of the principal citizens of Worcester have been in the ranks of the company. Among these may be mentioned Joseph R. Caldwell, Edward D. Bangs, Secretary of the State of Massachusetts; William Lincoln, the historian of Worcester; Joseph Millard, the historian of Lancaster; Hon. Isaac Davis, Hon. George W. Richardson, Hon. D. Waldo Lincoln—all mayors of Worcester, and others distinguished in the civil and military history of the state and nation.

ROLL OF HONOR.

The following members of the Worcester Light Infantry served as officers in the armies of the United States during the Civil War, 1861-1865:

William S. Lincoln, Colonel Thirty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers, Brevet Brigadier General; Harrison W. Pratt, Captain Company G, Old Sixth, Major Thirty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers; George W. Prouty, First Lieutenant Company G, Old Sixth, Captain Company D, Fifty-first Massachusetts Volunteers; Thomas S. Washburn, Second Lieutenant Company G, Old Sixth,

Captain Twenty-first Massachusetts Volunteers; J. Waldo Denny, Third Lieutenant Company G, Old Sixth, Captain Twenty-first Massachusetts Volunteers; Dexter F. Parker, Quartermaster Couch's Division, Major Tenth Massachusetts Volunteers; John A. Lovell, First Lieutenant and Captain, Thirty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers; J. Stewart Brown, Adjutant, Fifty-first Massachusetts Volunteers; Joel H. Prouty, Second Lieutenant, Fifty-first Massachusetts Volunteers; Brown P. Stowell, Second Lieutenant, Forty-second Massachusetts Volunteers; A. S. Badger, Second Lieutenant Twenty-sixth Massachusetts Volunteers, Captain First Texas Cavalry; William Belsor, Second and First Lieutenant and Captain, Thirty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers; Luther Capron, Jr., First Lieutenant Co. D, Fifty-first Massachusetts Volunteers; John W. Emerson, First Lieutenant and Captain, Forty-second Massachusetts Volunteers; George H. Conklin, Lieutenant, Thirty-first Massachusetts Unattached Artillery; John B. Dennis, Captain, Seventh Connecticut Volunteers; Church Howe, Quartermaster Sergeant Old Sixth, Captain Fifteenth Massachusetts Volunteers; Samuel O. LaForest, First Lieutenant Twenty-first Massachusetts Volunteers, Captain Company H, Forty-seventh Massachusetts Volunteers; J. T. M. Pierce, Commissary Department, Couch's Brigade; Henry M. Richter, First Lieutenant, Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteers; Dennis M. Sheenan, Second Lieutenant, Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteers; John W. Stiles, Second Lieutenant, Thirty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers; Charles P. Trumbull, Quartermaster, Thirty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers; Peter J. Turner, First Lieutenant, Fourth Rhode Island Volunteers; John M. Studley, Captain Fifteenth, and Lieutenant Colonel Fifty-first Massachusetts Volunteers; John F. Mathuen, First Lieutenant U. S. Army; Frederick G.

Stiles, Captain Company E and Major Forty-second Massachusetts Volunteers; Dennis A. Nolan, Lieutenant Eighth Pennsylvania Cavalry; Levi Lincoln, Jr., First Lieutenant Thirty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers; Geo. P. Johnson, Captain of Ordnance, Strong's Division; Ira B. Hastings, Fifteenth Massachusetts Volunteers; Geo. A. Johnson, Second Lieutenant Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteers; Albert H. Foster, Captain Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteers; Augustus Ford, First Lieutenant and Captain Forty-second Massachusetts Volunteers; James M. Drennan, Captain Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteers; William H. Valentine, Second and First Lieutenant and Captain Twenty-first Massachusetts Volunteers; A. C. Walker, First Lieutenant Thirty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers; J. M. Knapp, Lieutenant Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteers; R. A. Hacker, Second Lieutenant Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteers; J. E. Calligan, First Lieutenant Thirty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers; Charles H. Stratton, Second Lieutenant Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteers; Frederick Wigand, Second Lieutenant Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteers; George F. Peck, Battery E, First Michigan Artillery; Calvin E. Pratt, Colonel Thirty-first New York Volunteers, Brevet Brigadier General; Samuel P. Russell, Captain regiment New York Volunteers.

The Spanish-American War, in 1898, again sent the Worcester Light Infantry to the front with two other Worcester companies, the City Guards and the Wellington Rifles, the three companies being a part of the Second Regiment of Infantry, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, and commanded by Major Harry B. Fairbanks, a former captain of the company. These three companies left their armory, at junction of Grove and Salisbury streets, on the morning of May 3d, 1898, marching through Main and Front streets to Union depot, en route

for South Framingham, where the Second Regiment was ordered to report for duty, and where it was mustered into the service of the United States as "Regulars." And as soon as the new commissions were delivered to the officers by Governor Walcott on May 12th, the regiment left the state for Florida, the first regiment to leave Massachusetts for the Spanish-American War.

The following is the "roll" of the officers and men comprising the Worcester Light Infantry, C Company, Second Regiment, M. V. Infantry, when it left for the front:

Captain, Frank L. Allen; First Lieutenant, Arthur C. King; Second Lieutenant, H. H. Warren; Sergeants—First Sergeants, George H. Hill, A. S. Longley, George W. Stebbins, C. T. Fletcher, William E. Barton, H. B. Wentworth; Corporals, J. W. Holbrook, C. H. Colburn, R. H. Dowse, J. Luey Wilmot, C. A. Vaughan, P. W. Lincoln; Cook, A. G. Bursdorf; Musicians, A. F. Wheeler, H. T. Chapin; Artificer, E. A. Stearnes; Wagoner, T. B. Maynard; Privates, H. H. Adams, O. T. Aldrich, J. H. Allen, Lyman Bartlett, C. E. Butler, W. H. Butler, Geo. C. Butler, G. E. Bennett, G. H. Bejune, J. F. Bradley, C. A. Browne, L. A. Brigham, E. A. Briggs, F. E. Crossman, F. H. Clarkson, F. M. Crooker, F. P. Dean, W. G. Dennis, E. T. Drury, C. T. Eldridge, W. W. Eddy, J. H. Flinn, Jr., Geo. S. Farrow, O. J. W. Gleason, H. J. Greene, L. B. Glixman, W. I. Gage, F. C. Hale, R. E. Henderson, J. W. Humes, George T. Jones, R. Johnson, B. W. Kincaid, J. C. King, C. H. Knibbs, S. I. Mayo, George Martin, E. J. Martin, W. A. Merrifield, R. H. Pitts, A. J. Pembleton, B. A. Prince, J. E. Pope, Geo. E. Rix, W. D. Rheutan, W. D. Roberts, Charles M. Sands, A. D. Stewart, Robert Taft, F. S. Tucker, A. T. Wintersgill, J. W. Wheeler, E. D. Woolbridge, Emil Zaeder.

Major Fairbanks for his coolness and utter disregard of danger at all times, did much to cheer and encourage

the men under him, and at El Caney and San Juan Hill won especial mention for efficiency and bravery. Lieutenant H. H. Warren was detailed on the staff of General Lawton, and for bravery in action was breveted captain.

Arthur C. King had command of the company during the enforced absence of Captain Allen by reason of physical disability. Captain King has since deceased, and was buried with military honors, a fitting tribute to a brave soldier.

The following is Major Fairbanks' account of the campaign of 1898:

The war with Spain in 1898 found the Worcester organizations of the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia fully equipped, and in efficient condition for service in the field. At the first call of the President for troops, the Worcester Light Infantry, Company C; the Worcester City Guards, Company A; the Wellington Rifles, Company H, and the Heywood Guards, Company F, of Gardner, comprising the third battalion of the Second Regiment, were ordered to report with the regiment at South Framingham on May 3d, to be mustered into the service of the United States.

The Worcester companies assembled at their armory on the morning of May 3d, and, after an address by Mayor Dodge and prayer by Almon Gunnison, D. D., marched to the depot, under escort of the gray-haired veterans of George H. Ward Post 10, G. A. R., and the veteran members of the three companies. Thousands of people lined the streets as the soldiers passed. They knew the call to duty had been quickly answered, and that cold, wet May morning was an occasion of solemnity to all—a scene rarely witnessed and ever to be remembered.

The Worcester Light Infantry, for the third time in its history, left Worcester in answer to the nation's call.

Its members responded in large numbers, and its full quota of seventy-seven men was filled soon after the arrival at South Framingham.

The company as mustered into the United States' service was officered as follows: Frank L. Allen, Captain; Arthur C. King, First Lieutenant, and Herbert H. Warren, Second Lieutenant.

On May 12th the company proceeded with the regiment, which was designated Second Regiment Massachusetts Infantry, United States Volunteers, to Lakeland, Florida, and became part of the First Brigade, Second Division, Fifth Army Corps.

The journey south was by rail from Jersey City, and on the whole was a pleasant one for all.

The company passed through the capital on the morning of May 15th, where thirty-seven years before it reported for duty with the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment for three months' service in the War of the Rebellion. Lakeland was reached on the morning of May 17th, and camp was established on the shore of a beautiful lake. The days were spent in drilling and the routine of camp life.

There was nothing of particular interest in this camp. All knew it was but preliminary to sterner scenes soon to come, though none realized that hardships unthought of were in a few weeks to come upon all. After a stay of two weeks in Lakeland, the regiment moved to Tampa on Memorial day, and established its camp at Ybor City, a suburb of the city. This was one more step in the journey to Cuba, and in one week orders came to proceed to Port Tampa for the purpose of embarking in the fleet that was to convey the army of Major General Shafter to Santiago, the objective point of the campaign. It was the fortune of the Light Infantry to be assigned to the transport "Concho," on which were the Fourth In-

fantry and the Twenty-fifth Infantry of colored troops. None will forget the week spent on that boat, especially the first night when the men were placed below, where, from the heat, lack of ventilation and closeness of the bunks, it seemed almost impossible to breathe. Afterwards life was more bearable by reason of all being allowed to sleep on deck. The first night the company was assembled under arms upon the receipt of news that Spanish war vessels were outside the harbor and an attack was feared, but it proved to be false news, and only served to delay the departure of the fleet for several days.

The crowded condition of the "Concho" made it necessary to transfer the Second Regiment detachment to the Knickerbocker, No. 13, in which the journey from Port Tampa to Santiago was made.

The fleet of about forty transports, with its convoy of war vessels, sailed on June 13th, and after a tedious and uneventful voyage arrived off Santiago on the 20th.

The Light Infantry landed at Daiquiri on the 23d, and, after a terrible march of eleven miles through swamps and the thick tropical growth, joined the regiment at Siboney headquarters, and two battalions of the regiment having landed on the 22d, proceeded to that place.

The company now had but two officers, the Second Lieutenant, Herbert H. Warren, having been detailed as an aid on the staff of General Lawton, the division commander. Lieutenant Warren rendered efficient service as a staff officer, and was recommended for brevet rank by the general.

On June 24 the regiment moved and bivouacked at "Las Guasamas," the scene of the engagement of the cavalry brigade which included the Rough Riders.

Here for the first time were seen the bodies of men killed in action, and the sight was not without its effect upon the feelings of all. From this time to the 30th of

June, there were frequent changes of camp. The rainy season had set in, and the days were made dreary and uncomfortable by frequent heavy showers. The men were rapidly becoming debilitated by the change of climate, lack of proper food, and exposure to the elements.

On June 30th orders came to break camp, and with one day's rations the march was taken up for El Caney, which was to be attacked the next morning at daylight. The regiment bivouacked near the town, and at about 6 A. M. the battle began, which, late in the afternoon, resulted in the capture of the place. The battalion to which the Light Infantry was attached, with one company of the Second Battalion, was cut off from the regiment by order of the division commander at the point where Captain Capron's battery was in action. This break, which caused a delay of more than an hour, resulted in keeping the company from participating in the most serious part of the battle in which the greater number of the casualties in the regiment occurred. The company finally reached the firing line, and with the other companies of the battalion was assigned a position which afforded good cover, but was kept from firing, which from that position would have been of no value. The company occupied this place throughout the day, with the bullets of the enemy continually whistling overhead. Fortunately, during the entire day no casualties resulted to the battalion, except in two companies, the Worcester City Guards, A Company, and the Heywood Guards, F Company, of Gardner, and in these none were fatal.

After the battle a distressing night march was made to San Juan, which was reached at daylight, and after a short halt the regiment moved under a scattering fire to the base of a hill, and went into camp. On the night of this day, July 2d, occurred the so-called "night attack," which resulted in several casualties in the regiment, but one, however, in the Worcester battalion.

The company was now under the command of Lieutenant King, Captain Allen on the evening after the battle of El Caney having been compelled, by an acute attack of rheumatism, which rendered him practically helpless, to go to the hospital. This was a severe loss, and one that was greatly regretted by all. Lieutenant King commanded the company from this time until the arrival at "Montauk Point," L. I., and his efficient services were amply testified to by the affection in which he was held by the men upon their return home. From July 2d until the surrender of Santiago, the company was continually digging trenches, performing guard and outpost duty, under conditions that rapidly sapped strength and vitality.

The formal surrender of Santiago took place on July 17th and 18th. From that time until August 13, the date of sailing for Montauk Point, it was a constant struggle for life. It seemed only a question of time when all must succumb to the surrounding conditions. The daily rains made life nearly unbearable, and the death rate throughout the regiment was constantly on the increase, but the end came on Aug. 12th, when camp was broken, the regiment embarked on the transport Mobile, and sailed the next day, the 13th, for Montauk Point, which was reached on the evening of the 18th, but the regiment did not disembark until the 20th. Immediately upon disembarking, it went into "detention camps" for the purpose of quarantine, and after staying there three days a new camp was established, which was occupied until Saturday, the 27th, when the regiment was furloughed.

At Montauk supplies in generous quantity were received from the citizens of Worcester. They did much good, and were gratefully appreciated.

In the afternoon of Aug. 27th the company reached Worcester. Eight of its members had died of disease,

and those who returned were in a pitiable condition. The citizens of Worcester were shocked at the appearance of the men, who so short a time before marched away in full vigor and strength.

Post 10, G. A. R., escorted the companies from the depot to the Armory. And its members must have been vividly reminded of the old days of the War of the Rebellion. Since the muster-out, which took place on Nov. 3d, 1898, the company has lost two of its members, Lieutenant King and Private Pitts, both deeply mourned, and whose deaths no doubt resulted from disease contracted in Cuba.

This closes another chapter in the history of the Worcester Light Infantry, and one that is honorable and creditable in every way. The company did its full duty at all times, and its veteran members and friends have every reason to feel proud of its latest service for the nation.

As I have previously stated, the Worcester Light Infantry, directly and indirectly, contributed 600 officers and men to the war of 1861-1865, and the Spanish-American War of 1898, seventy-seven officers and men. How many of the brave boys who marched from our city on that memorable April day in 1861, and in the four years of bloodshed that followed, I have no means of estimating, but to many the good-bye to loved ones and home then was their last on earth.

Of those who enlisted for the Cuban War in the Worcester Light Infantry, "ten" have answered their last "roll call," and with their dead comrades of the Civil War, "rest where they wearied, and lie where they fell"— some beneath the ocean wave, some "in stranger soil; gone, but not forgotten."

Other Worcester military organizations who took part in the Spanish-American War were the Emmet Guards,

G Company, Ninth Regiment, M. V. M., who went to Cuba with that regiment, and Battery B, M. V. M., who served on the coast defences during the same war.

The following comprise the military of the city of Worcester, Mass., with quarters in the new Armory, junction of Salisbury and Grove streets, at present time (Jan. 1, 1902): Worcester Light Infantry, C Company; Worcester City Guards, A Company, and Wellington Rifles, H Company, all of the Third Battalion, Second Regiment, M. V. M.; the Emmet Guards, G Company, Ninth Regiment, M. V. M., and Battery B, M. V. M. (formerly known as Chamberlin Light Battery), with George W. Hubbard, a veteran of the Civil War, as armorer.

Mr. President, I thank you for the privilege of bringing before this Society the splendid record of the Worcester Light Infantry, which on the 6th of June, 1903, will have rounded out a century of existence—ever old and ever young—and I especially thank the officers and members of the active company for their presence here tonight.

I have been identified with the Worcester Light Infantry for sixty years, and hope and expect to keep up my membership and interest while life shall last. Again, I thank you one and all.

365th Meeting.

Tuesday evening, December 3, 1901.

President Crane in the chair. Others present: Bancroft, M. A. Maynard, Geo. Maynard, Dickinson, Davidson, Hill and Otis.

It being a severe stormy night, it was thought best to postpone the exercises to a future time, and on the motion of Mr. Hill, the meeting was adjourned for two weeks from that evening.

Tuesday evening, December 17, 1901.

President Crane in the chair. Others present: Messrs. Dickinson, Davidson, Ely, Miss May, Mrs. Chenoweth, Mrs. Daniel Kent, Miss Agnes Waite, Messrs. Arnold, Eaton, Hill, Gould, Otis, Paine, M. A. Maynard, Geo. Maynard and Salisbury.

The Librarian reported additions for the past month, 123 bound volumes, 78 pamphlets, 42 papers and 5 miscellaneous articles. He called attention to the fact of Mrs. James G. Arnold being the contributor of 63 bound volumes and 18 unbound volumes of Patent Office reports, some rare numbers, thus enabling the Society to make up quite a complete set of these valuable reports.

The name of Alexander Belisle, Jr., was presented for membership and referred to the Standing Committee on Nomination.

The Librarian then read his annual report, which showed receipts of the Society the past year have been 879 bound volumes, 1624 pamphlets, 901

papers and 126 miscellaneous articles. Principal contributors to the above list: President Crane, Mrs. William Dickinson and her son Stuart, and Mrs. Mary L. O. Hinds.

The Treasurer's report was then presented, showing the finances of the Society in good condition. On motion of Mr. Paine, it was accepted and ordered on file.

Nathaniel Paine, Esq., presented his annual report for the Department of Local History and Genealogy.

The Secretary read his report, showing the standing of the membership of the Society. Four deaths have occurred within the Society since the last annual meeting.

Mr. M. A. Maynard stated that a nephew of Mr. Pardon A. Lee, a deceased member, would be pleased to donate an oil portrait of Mr. Lee, providing it would be acceptable to the Society. On motion of Hon. Stephen Salisbury, the generous proposition was accepted.

James H. Bancroft, Esq., who had been announced to read a paper on the "Worcester Branch Railroad," having deceased within a few days, it was voted unanimously, out of respect to the deceased member, to print the paper as having been read by him at this meeting.

WORCESTER BRANCH RAILROAD.

By James H. Bancroft, Esq.

What is now Union street was laid out and accepted as a public street in three separate sections, and at separate times, as follows: The first section, between School street and Thomas street, was accepted April 7, 1828, and was then named Central street. See Town Records, Vol. VI, page 248.

The second section, between Thomas street and Mechanic street, was accepted Nov. 8, 1841, and was then named Union street. See Town Records, Vol. VII, page 108.

This section, when first laid out as a private street in the early thirties, was called Quinsigamond street.

The third section, between Lincoln square and School street, was decreed a public street by the Mayor and Aldermen Aug. 6, 1849. See Street Book, No. 1, page 40.

What is now Market street, once called Old Market street, was laid out by the Selectmen and accepted as a public street Nov. 8, 1847. See Town Records, Vol. VII, page 367.

What is now Central street was laid out by the Selectmen and accepted as a public street May 29, 1833. See Town Records, Vol VI, page 399.

What is now Exchange street was once called Columbian street, or Columbian avenue. Next, it was called Market street, then New Market street, and for about the past fifty years it has been called Exchange street.

Gill Valentine's record of the survey of streets and highways in the city of Worcester, made in the years of 1851 and 1852, which record is now in the office of the City Clerk, says that at Lincoln square, Union street is thirty feet wide between the monument on the west side of the street and the Nashua railroad; a little south of

Court Mill it widens to forty feet, and is forty feet wide from thence to Market street.

From Market street to School street it is thirty-eight feet wide.

From Thomas street to Mechanic street it is forty feet wide, except through the viaduct of the Boston & Worcester Railroad it is only twenty-one feet wide.

Since 1852, Union street has been widened and relocated several times, and now presents a different appearance. When the Worcester Branch Railroad was surveyed and located, Market street, and the third section of Union street, were private property.

We read in the statutes the following act of incorporation, dated April 25, 1838:

CHAPTER 195.

Sect. 1. Daniel Waldo, Stephen Salisbury, Isaac Davis, their associates and successors, are hereby made a corporation by the name of the Worcester Branch Railroad Company, with all the powers and privileges, and subject to all the duties, restrictions and liabilities set forth in the forty-fourth chapter of the Revised Statutes, and in that part of the thirty-ninth chapter relating to railroad corporations.

Sect. 2. The said company may construct a railroad within the town of Worcester, in the county of Worcester, commencing at Lincoln square, thence running southerly across School, Thomas, Central and Columbian streets in said town, to the north line of the Boston & Worcester Railroad, at some convenient point, and said company, with the consent of the County Commissioners of said county, and of the inhabitants of said town at a meeting called for that purpose, may construct a railroad along Main street in said Worcester to a point near the passenger depot of the Boston & Worcester Railroad.

Sect. 3. The capital stock of said company shall not exceed $50,000, divided into shares of $100 each, and said company may invest and hold such part thereof in real estate as may be necessary for a depot and for the use of said road.

Sect. 4. The company shall not take land for the purpose of constructing their road without the consent of the owner thereof, nor shall they enter upon any other railroad without permission first obtained from the corporation on whose road they enter, nor shall any cars be moved on the road of the company hereby created by steam power.

Sect. 5. If the said company be not organized, and the location of their road be filed with the County Commissioners of said county of Worcester within two years from the passing of this act, and if their road shall not be constructed within three years from said time, this act shall be void.

Whether this contemplated corporation ever had an actual existence is uncertain. The records of the County Commissioners and the records of the town of Worcester are silent upon this matter, and the only evidence we have of its existence is in the act itself.

Again, we read in the statutes the following act of incorporation, dated March 17, 1841:

CHAPTER 100.

Sect. 1. William A. Wheeler, Daniel Waldo, Stephen Salisbury and Isaac Davis, their associates and successors, are hereby made a corporation by the name of the Worcester Branch Railroad Company, with all the powers and privileges, and subject to all the duties, restrictions and liabilities set forth in the forty-fourth chapter of the Revised Statutes, and in that part of the thirty-

ninth chapter of said statutes relating to railroad corporations.

Sect. 2. The company may construct a railroad within the town of Worcester, in the county of Worcester, commencing at Lincoln square and thence running southerly across School, Thomas, Central and Columbian streets in said town to the northerly line of the Boston & Worcester Railroad at some convenient point.

Sect. 3. The capital stock shall not exceed $50,000, to be divided into shares of $100 each, and said company may invest and hold such part thereof in real estate as may be necessary for a depot and for the use of said road.

Sect. 4. If the said company be not organized, and the location of their said road filed with the County Commissioners of said county of Worcester within two years from the passing of this act, and if their said road shall not be constructed within three years from said time, this act shall be void.

Sect. 5. The rate of speed at which the said company shall be allowed to run their cars or engines over said road shall never exceed four miles an hour.

And again we read the following act, dated Feb. 5, 1844:

CHAPTER 8.

The further period of one year beyond the time mentioned in the act to which this is in addition is hereby granted to said company for completing their railroad.

The first provided for two separate routes, one from Lincoln square, crossing School, Thomas, Central and Columbian streets, to the Boston & Worcester railroad; the other route was along Main street, to a point near the passenger depot of the Boston & Worcester Railroad, which at that time stood so near Main street that it is

proper to say that it fronted thereon. The corporation was also prohibited from using steam as a motive power. It did not occur to the solons of that time to include electricity within that prohibition.

The second act provided for only one route, and that was across School, Thomas, Central and Columbian streets. This act permitted the use of any kind of motive power, but limited the rate of speed to four miles per hour.

When this corporation was organized, who were its stockholders, and how large a portion of the capital stock as authorized was actually taken, we have not been able to learn, but it is probable that only a small portion of the authorized stock was paid in to the corporation.

The route for the road was surveyed in December, 1840, by J. Adams, and the plan and profile of its location were filed with the County Commissioners March 16, 1843. The filing is attested by W. Jennison, assistant clerk.

This location commences 100 feet westerly of the bridge across the Blackstone canal, at the centre of the northerly track of the Boston & Worcester Railroad, and soon curves to the north, making a steep incline downwards, until it reached the level of Union street, which is thirteen feet below the level of the Boston & Worcester railroad. The level of Union street was reached at a point about 150 feet distant, southerly of what is now Exchange street; from thence it ran along the easterly side of Union street, until it reached the northerly line of School street; from thence northerly until within 40 feet of Lincoln square, when it curved to the right, thence again northerly to a point nearly at Lincoln square.

This location, after leaving the Boston & Worcester railroad, passed over land of Benjamin P. Rice, the Worcester Bank, Warren Lazell, the Boston & Worcester Railroad Company and Samuel M. Burnside to Union

street; thence along the easterly side of Union street until it had crossed Old Market street; thence across land of John Green and others, land of the heirs of Henry Wheeler deceased, land of Isaac Davis and land of Stephen Salisbury.

Some changes being found desirable an addition to the former location was filed with the County Commissioners March 27, 1844, those now of interest being that Columbian street is called Market street, and instead of the "heirs of Henry Wheeler," the names of "Benj. Thaxter," and of "Joseph P. Wheeler and others" appear.

In the warrant for a town meeting upon Monday, March 1st, 1841, the twenty-first article was:

"To see if the town will permit the Worcester Branch Railroad, when incorporated as petitioned for by John Gates, Edwin Conant and others, to lay a track across Central street, Thomas street and through the street running between the houses of Levi Howe and F. W. Paine, so far as the same may be a common town road."

The action thereon was as follows:

"The subject of the petition of the Worcester Branch Railroad was referred to a committee of five to report thereon at the adjournment, and Charles Allen, William A. Wheeler, Frederick Wm. Paine, James Estabrook and John W. Lincoln were chosen."

At the adjourned meeting, April 5, 1841:

Article 21. The committee to whom was referred the subject matter of this article made a *Report*, which was *read and accepted*, and is in part as follows, to wit:

"The Worcester Branch Railroad Corporation, having by their charter authority to locate said road over the ways and streets lying between the termini of the same, the consent of the town is not necessary therefor, inasmuch as the town can not interfere with the rights said corporation has obtained of the Legislature. The committee,

however, recommend, that the *town make no claim* for any supposed damages, *provided* the said corporation shall so construct their own road, that, in the opinion of the Selectmen, no damages or injury shall result to any street or way over which it shall pass."

This road was constructed in accordance with the plan and profile: there was a bridge over what is now Manchester street, the road was cheaply constructed, there were cross ties or sleepers such as are now commonly used laid upon the road-bed, and upon these cross ties, lengthways, were laid two wooden timbers about six inches wide and eight or ten inches high; upon these wooden timbers were laid what was then known as a strap rail—this rail was iron about half an inch thick and about three inches wide. These strap rails were fastened to the wooden timbers by iron spikes. The corporation never owned any locomotives or cars—the locomotives or engines and freight cars of the Boston & Worcester Railroad Corporation were drawn over the line for the accommodation of the shops upon the route as occasion required.

The wooden timbers before mentioned quickly decayed and the cars and engines were often off the track, and required assistance to return. Many times has your speaker seen the trains upon that road in this condition, and he is of the opinion that no engineer ever ran his train over that road at a rate of speed greater than four miles per hour. While the road was being constructed, Stephen Salisbury erected at the southwesterly corner of Lincoln square and Summer street a three story building of brick with steep pitch roof covered with slate. This building was about fifty feet wide and one hundred or more in length.

The first story was wholly below the level of Summer street, and from Lincoln square three separate flights of about six stone steps each led to the three entrances into

the second story upon the northerly side of the building. Two tracks from this railroad ran into the first story of this building upon the southerly side or end. This building was well constructed and an ornament to that part of the town.

For a time this building was used by the tenants of Court Mills as a freight depot and for storage.

In 1843 Warren Lazell, Benj. P. Rice and the Worcester Bank each conveyed a small lot of land, 50 feet wide and averaging 180 feet in length, all lying easterly of what is now Union street and northerly of Manchester street. They were all bounded northerly by land of the Boston & Worcester Railroad.

Dec. 25, 1840, Samuel M. Burnside executed an instrument giving permission to the Branch Railroad to cross his land under lengthy and minute restrictions. This land was bounded upon the south by land of the B. & W. Railroad.

Jan. 13, 1844, Mr. Burnside made another instrument upon the same piece of paper reciting changes in the condition. Both these instruments were acknowledged before Stephen Salisbury May 13, 1845, and recorded in Book 399, page 81. It having been discovered that seals were omitted from each of these instruments, other instruments precisely like the first were made with seals added thereto. These were acknowledged June 30, 1845, and recorded in Book 402C, page 194. The instruments made by Samuel M. Burnside tend to prove that in the early part of the year 1844 the road was completed. The land of the B. & W. R. R., which lay between the lands conveyed by Warren Lazell and others and the Burnside land, was a small portion of a tract containing four acres, conveyed to them by Benj. Putnam May 2, 1834, by deed, recorded in Book 300, page 435. John W. Stiles then lived upon this estate, which had a frontage upon Main

street of 149 feet, and included the lot whereon the old Universalist meeting-house, at present called Continental Hall, now stands. The southerly line of this estate was irregular and extended easterly 600 feet or more to land once of Daniel G. Wheeler, including what is now Foster street. This estate was bounded upon the north by a line near what is now North Foster street, and that street extended easterly.

The next business in order was the electing of officers for the ensuing year, and a member of the Committee on Nomination to serve three years. Hon. Stephen Salisbury and Nathaniel Paine, Esq., were appointed to receive, count the ballots, and report the result to the meeting. The following named persons were declared elected: For President, Ellery B. Crane; 1st Vice-President, Mander A. Maynard; 2d Vice-President, Mrs. Daniel Kent; Secretary, Walter Davidson; Treasurer, Benjamin T. Hill, Esq.; Librarian, Thomas A. Dickinson; Standing Committee on Nomination for three years, Charles B. Eaton. There being no further business the meeting was adjourned.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LOCAL HISTORY AND GENEALOGY.

Mr. President, as Chairman of the Committee on Local History and Genealogy, I submit the following report:

The records of the Society show that during the past year several interesting papers have been presented at our meetings, by members and others, relating to Worcester history. Some of our members have also prepared for other societies or for publication elsewhere valuable contributions to local history.

These various papers tend to keep alive interest in the work of our Society, and are of value to the future historian of our city.

The annual address of our President, presented at the January meeting, incidentally treats of our local history and genealogy in his remarks relating to William A. Wheeler, a former prominent mechanic of Worcester.

At the February meeting Mr. J. H. Bancroft read an interesting paper on the Central Exchange and its occupants from 1804 to 1896. Mr. Bancroft's paper was prepared with care, and contains material which will prove to be of permanent historical value.

Hon. Stephen Salisbury read, at the April meeting, interesting accounts of early days in Worcester, prepared by Mrs. Henry P. Sturgis of Salem.

At the July meeting the subject was continued by Mrs. Sturgis in a paper read by Mr. Paine. These papers, which related to old houses and old residents of Worcester, are of historical value, and will be useful aids to our future historian.

At the September meeting, Mr. Benjamin Thomas Hill presented an instructive paper entitled "The Beginnings of the Boston and Worcester Railroad," which was listened to by those present with great interest.

President Crane also read at the October meeting a monograph on the Old Worcester Turnpike, which added much valuable matter to our local history.

The November meeting was of special interest, because of the presence of the Worcester Light Infantry, who came to hear an historical account of the Worcester Light Infantry, the oldest militia company of our city now in existence. This paper was prepared by Maj. Frederick G. Stiles, and when printed in our proceedings, will be of permanent value to all interested in local history.

Among the papers prepared by members for other societies or for publication elsewhere are Mr. B. T. Hill's account of Isaiah Thomas, printed in the Worcester Magazine, published by the Board of Trade, giving an interesting notice of the Patriot Printer of the Revolution, and the founder of the American Antiquarian Society.

In the same publication also appeared Mr. Nathaniel Paine's address at the annual dinner of the Board of Trade, his subject being Worcester Common, with an account of some of its neighbors and incidents.

Hon. A. S. Roe, also a member of the Society of Antiquity, as editor of the Worcester Magazine, has prepared for that journal fully illustrated articles relating to our city, which impart much valuable information. These are upon "Worcester in the Lower Branch of the Federal Congress," "Lake Quinsigamond," "Clark University," and "Worcester Clubs."

Mrs. Harriette M. Forbes and Prof. U. W. Cutler, also members of our Society, have prepared for the Worcester Magazine valuable historical and genealogical papers. That of Mrs. Forbes was upon William Trowbridge Merrifield, for many years one of Worcester's most esteemed and valued citizens. Prof. Cutler gave an inter-

esting historical account of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute.

Mr. Charles A. Chase, also a member of our Society, read before the American Antiquarian Society in July last a paper entitled "Land Titles of the American Antiquarian Society," in which will be found valuable historical facts relating to Worcester. This paper has also been printed in separate form, with additional notes and illustrations.

Mr. Frank Roe Batchelder's paper on Isaiah Thomas, the Patriot Printer, appeared in the New England Magazine for November, and Mr. James Draper of the Worcester Parks Commission communicated to the Worcester Magazine for April an article upon the Parks and Playgrounds of Worcester, both of which contained historical information worthy of preservation.

In the Worcester Magazine for November is an article upon Holy Cross College by Richard H. Mooney, and the editor tells of the part taken by the Worcester militia in the Spanish War.

These facts show that the members of this Society have been active in carrying out the objects for which it was founded, and that the contributions mentioned will be of permanent historical value there can be no question.

But few local histories published during the past year have come to the notice of the committee, and mention is made of but one, "Historic Duxbury in Plymouth Colony by Laurence Bradford," which, although a small volume, is of special interest and value.

Biographical notices containing genealogical information have been prepared by the Committee on Biographies upon Elisha D. Buffington and James L. Estey, deceased, members of our Society, and should be noticed here because of matter relating to the Department of Local History and Genealogy.

Maj. Stiles' Memoir of Jeremiah Stiles, read at one of the meetings of the Society, should be mentioned for the same reason.

Early in the year Andrew McFarland Davis of Cambridge printed his monograph, "Mrs. Lucretia Chandler Bancroft, a Letter to Her Daughter, Mrs. Gherardi (Mother of Admiral Gherardi), with an introduction by Hon. Horace Davis of the University of California," to which Andrew McFarland Davis has added historical notes. It was reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, and contains information in regard to Worcester and some of the old families that will be of value to the student of our local history in the future.

It may not be out of place for the committee to mention certain genealogical publications of the past year which have come to their notice.

These are:

Ancestors, Kin and Descendants of John Warden and Narcissa (Davis) Warden, by William A. Warden, Worcester, 1901.

Thomas Boyden and his Descendants, compiled by Wallace C. Boyden, Merrill N. Boyden and Amos J. Boyden, Boston, 1901.

Samuel Slade Benton, his Ancestors and Descendants, by Josiah H. Benton, Jr., privately printed, Boston, 1901.

History of the Putnam Family of England and America, by Eben Putnam, Salem, 1901.

Field Genealogy, or Record of All the Field Family in America, by F. C. Pierce, two volumes, Chicago, 1901.

Allied Families of Delaware, by E. J. Sellers, Philadelphia, 1901.

English Record of the Whaley Family, by Rev. Samuel Whaley, Ithaca, N. Y., 1901.

The Descendants of Hugh Amory, 1605-1805, by Ger-

trude E. Meredith. Privately printed at the Chiswick Press, London, 1901.

Undoubtedly other genealogies or family histories, equally worthy of mention, have been published during the year, but as they have not happened to come to the notice of the committee, they cannot be mentioned.

In conclusion, it may be said that the Society of Antiquity, by the printing of the records of their monthly meetings, are continuing the custom inaugurated many years ago of collecting and preserving in permanent form materials for the history of our city and of its prominent families.

For the Committee,

NATHANIEL PAINE,

Chairman.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 1, 1901.

Receipts.

Dec., 1900.		
Balance forward—Savings Banks,		$1,912 52
Balance forward—cash,		123 51
Rent,	$485 10	
Assessments,	738 00	
Estate of Albert Curtis, rebate of income tax,	200 00	
Estate of Hester N. Wetherell, bequest,	4,000 00	
Advertising,	145 50	
Proceedings and duplicates,	65 90	
Miscellaneous,	113 93	
Interest on deposit, Savings Banks,	71 81	
Interest on deposit, City National Bank,	5 34	
		$7,861 61

Payments.

Salary of Librarian,	$300 00
Hall and library,	65 00
Heat and light,	161 73
Printing,	664 49
Castings for stacks,	44 46
Lumber,	24 03
Taxes,	87 60
Help,	35 17
Postage,	35 00
Miscellaneous,	115 17

Nov. 30.		
Balance forward—Savings Banks,	2,112 52	
Balance forward—investment, Northern Pacific, Great Northern R. R.,	2,963 17	
Balance forward—balance of Wetherell fund,	1,036 83	
Balance forward—cash,	216 44	
		$7,861 61

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL,
Treasurer.

I have examined and approved the receipts and expenditures of the foregoing account with proper vouchers, showing deposits and balances of $3,365.79 in banks; also Great Northern, Northern Pacific R. R. Co. bonds, $3,000.

LEWIS C. MUZZY,
For the Board of Auditors.

Worcester, 3d December, 1901.

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

During the year ending Dec. 31, 1901, the additions to the Library and Museum have been: 936 bound volumes, 1851 pamphlets, 915 papers and manuscripts, and 182 miscellaneous articles, including photographs, pictures, maps, relics, etc.: number of contributors, 164.

Among the valuable additions, the largest came from our President, Hon. E. B. Crane, consisting of books, pamphlets, papers, broadsides, souvenirs, relics, crockery, and several articles of utility which are useful about the building.

George Stuart Dickinson has given a small library of valuable and interesting books.

The old study-chair used by Rev. Seth Sweetser, who was pastor of the Central Church nearly forty years, was presented by Miss Frances W. Sweetser.

An old violoncello owned by Gerry Valentine. He bought it second hand, played on it in the choir of the Second Baptist meeting-house on Pleasant street when that was first built. The instrument is probably ninety or one hundred years old. Gerry Valentine's name first appears in the Worcester Directory in 1842 as boot pattern-maker at Court Mill. He was foreman of Washington Engine Co. No. 5 (house on Lincoln square) in 1845-'47. He left Worcester in 1862, and settled in Hammonton, N. J. Also an old clarinet owned by Elisha Muzzy of about the same date as the violoncello. E. M. was a blacksmith in Worcester in 1846. These were presented by Mrs. Wm. A. Hood, a daughter of Gerry Valentine.

By the kindness of Mrs. A. P. Hildreth we have received from the old Perry homestead on Vernon street 137 volumes of books (many of them old singing-books), pamphlets and papers, and several interesting old household relics, pictures, maps, etc.

Mrs. William Dickinson has given to the Library nearly one hundred volumes and the old map of Worcester published by Clarendon Harris in 1833.

From Mrs. S. E. Reed Lawton we have received the old Bancroft house in stucco, made by Timothy J. McAuliffe, and a valuable donation of books.

The old sign of Oliver Wilson, card-maker, Paxton, 1824, which has been restored by our President and placed over the card-maker's case in the museum. This with a collection of papers and documents belonging to the late Charles D. Boynton of Paxton were the gifts of Hon. Ledyard Bill.

A large collection of books, interesting and valuable relics which belonged to Ephraim Hinds of West Boylston, who was born in 1780, have been received from Mrs. Mary L. O. Hinds, now of Somerville, Mass.

Mr. Timothy McGillicuddy has given the most valuable relic, being an old oriental mill which he brought from Ireland last summer, called in Ireland "a quern." Only two others are known in New England—one at the Peabody Museum in Cambridge, and one at St. Johnsbury, Vt.

Other meritorious donations will be found in the list which follows this report.

Ten volumes of town histories and genealogies have been received during the year.

Two permanent book-cases have been added to the Library room, making a total of seven permanent cases, and twenty movable cases.

We are indebted to the publishers of the Webster Times, Worcester Messenger, Old South Record, Holy Cross Purple, and the Worcester Magazine for their regular issues, which they have continued to send us during the year.

THOMAS A. DICKINSON,
Librarian.

GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY.

Abbot, Wm. F. 44 Vol., 150 Pam., 59 Papers.
Academy of Science (St. Louis). Transactions as issued.
Adams, Wm. F. (Springfield). In ex. Books and Pictures.
American Geographical Society. Bulletin as issued.
American Museum of Natural History. 2 Pam.
American Antiquarian Society. Pictures, Maps, Broadsides, and 76 Vol., 399 Pam., 126 Papers.
American Irish Historical Society. 1 Vol.
American Congregational Association. 1 Pam.
Arnold, James N. (Providence). 1 Vol., 2 Pam.
Arnold, Mrs. James G. 81 Vol., 23 Pam.
Avery, Elroy M. (Cleveland, Ohio). Notes and Queries as issued.
Bancroft, Miss Ellen B. (Petersham). 1 Ancient Flail and Indian Moccasins.
Berry, John M. 1 Pam.
Bibliothèque De L'Université (Toulouse, France). 16 Pam.
Bill, Hon. Ledyard (Paxton). 1 Vol., 1 Cane, souvenir of 1725. Old Sign of Oliver Wilson, cardmaker, Paxton, 1824.
Blanchard, F. S. & Co. 3 Vol., 70 Pam.
Bliss, Wm. H. 1 Picture.
Boston Port and Seaman's Aid Society. 1 Pam.
Boston Transit Commission. 1 Vol.
Boston Public Library. 1 Pam.
Bowdoin College Library. 3 Pam.
Brown, David H. (West Medford). 1 Pam.
Brown, Freeman. 1. Pam.
Buffington, Mrs. E. D. Confederate Scrip and Relic.
Bureau of Education. 1 Vol.
Bureau of American Ethnology. 3 Vol.
Canadian Institute. 1 Pam.
Clark, Mrs. Geo. S. Birds' skins from the first Parry Expedition.
Cogswell, Miss M. L. T. 1 Pam.
Colorado College. 1 Pam.
Connecticut Hist. Society. 2 Pam.
Cornell University. 1 Pam.
Craig, Geo. A. (Spencer). 2 Photos.
Crane, Hon. E. B. 74 Vol., 290 Pam., 140 Papers.
Cunningham, Ed. D. Cane Pistol made by Willard, Hartford, Conn. Loaned.
Currier, Frederick A. (Fitchburg). 1 Pam.

Darling, I. O. (Northbridge). Framed Portrait of Pardon A. Lee.
Davis & Banister. 2 Vol., 69 Pam.
Dedham Hist. Society. Register as issued.
Department of State. Consular Reports as issued.
Department of Agriculture. 8 Pam.
Department of the Interior. 1 Vol.
Dickinson, Geo. Stuart. 47 Vol., 11 Pam., 1 Paper.
Dickinson, Mrs. Wm. Maps of Worcester 1833 and 1851. 76 Vol., 35 Pam., 50 Papers.
Drew, Allis Co. 84 Directories, town and city.
Essex Institute (Salem). 1 Pam.
Forehand, Frederic. Old U. S. Flag of 1860.
Gates, Burton N. 35 Papers.
Goddard, L. P. Pictures and Church Calendars.
Goodspeed Book Shop. Special Catalogues.
Green, Hon. S. A. (Boston). 5 Pam.
Green, James, Esq. 2 Pam.
Green, Martin. Ancient Ox Shoe.
Haile, Mrs. W. H. and Family (Springfield). Memorial of Wm. Henry Haile.
Hildreth, Mrs. A. P. 3 Vol., 1 Picture and Grand Army Relics.
Hinds, Mrs. Mary L. O. (Somerville). Ancient trunk containing interesting and valuable relics which belonged to the late Ephraim Hinds of Boylston, born in 1780. 44 Vol., 38 Pam., 7 Papers.
Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba. 4 Pam.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Penn. Magazine as issued.
Holy Cross College. Holy Cross Purple as issued.
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